
Class No. 080.....

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SPEECHES

BY

LORD IRWIN

VOL. I.

From 1st April 1926 to 24th June 1929



SIMLA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
1930

INDEX TO H. E. LORD IRWIN'S SPEECHES, VOLUME I.

A

	PAGE.
Aeroplane, Imperial Airways,	
Naming of the —	195
Afghanistan, H. M. the King of,	
Banquet to — at Bombay	377
Afridi Jirga at Landikotal,	
Address of welcome from the —	93
Agricultural Conference,	
Opening of the — at Simla	436
Agricultural Research Council,	
Opening of the —	588
Agriculture, Ministers and Directors of,	
Conference of — from Provincial Governments	13
Agriculturists of the Central Provinces,	
Address presented by the —	33
Ahmadiyya Community,	
Address presented by the — at Delhi	222
Allahabad Municipal Board and Allahabad District Board,	
Addresses of welcome from the —	137
Alwar,	
Speech at Banquet at —	543
Amraoti,	
Opening of the Irwin Hospital at —	429
Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon,	
General Meetings of the —	118, 482

B

Bahawalpur,	
Opening of the Islam Headworks at —	302
16 PSV	

	PAGE.
Bahawalpur,	
Speech at Banquet at — ..	100
Bangalore City Municipal Council,	
Address of welcome from the — ..	263
Bangalore Civil and Military Station Municipal Commission,	
Address of welcome from the — ..	264
Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts,	
Address presented by the representatives of —	95
Banquet to H. M. the King of Afghanistan at Bombay	377
Banquets,	
Speech at Alwar	543
Speech at Bahawalpur	100
Speech at Baria	266
Speech at Benares	183
Speech at Bhopal	230
Speech at Bikanir	213, 300
Speech at Cutch	325
Speech at Dholpur	412
Speech at Jamnagar	331
Speech at Jodhpur	362
Speech at Junagadh	340
Speech at Kapurthala	355
Speech at Kotah	559
Speech at Mysore	270
Speech at Patiala	416
Speech at Porbandar	337
Speech at Rajkot	350
Speech at Rampur	193
Speech at Rewa	379
Speech at Srinagar	234
Speech at Udaipur	327

Baria,			
Opening of the Sir Leslie Wilson Hospital and Laying of the foundation stone of the Sir Ranjit Singhji High School at ——— ..			363
Baria,			
Speech at Banquet at ———			366
Benares,			
Address from the Kashi Sudhar Trust, ——— ..			187
Address of welcome from the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, ———			190
Benares Hindu University Library,			
Laying of the foundation stone of the ——— ..			178
Benares Municipal Board and Benares District Board,			
Address of welcome from the ———			175
Benares,			
Speech at Banquet at ———			183
Bengal Club Dinner, Calcutta			168
Bengal Landholders' Association,			
Address of welcome from the ———			479
Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,			
Address of welcome from the ———, Calcutta ..			152
Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares,			
Address of welcome from the ———			190
Bhopal,			
Speech at Banquet at ———			230
Bihar Landholders' Association,			
Address of welcome from the ———			452
Bikanir,			
Opening of the Gang Canal, ———			297
Speech at Banquet at ———			213, 300
Bombay,			
Speech at Millowners' Association Dinner at ———			371
Opening of the Tansa Completion Waterworks at —————			376

B

	PAGE
Bombay Chamber of Commerce,	
Address of welcome from the —	4
Bombay Municipal Corporation,	
Address of welcome from the —	1
Bombay Presidency Muslims,	
Address of welcome from the —	43
Boy Scouts,	
Address to the — at Lahore	73
Boy Scouts Jambooree,	
Opening of the — at Bombay	369
British Indian Association, Calcutta,	
Address of welcome from the —	160
Broadcasting Service,	
Inauguration of the Indian Broadcasting Com- pany's —	260
Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce,	
Address of welcome from the —	461
Butler, Sir Harcourt,	
Unveiling of a statue of —	477

C

Calcutta,	
Address of welcome from the Central National Muhammadian Association, —	146
Address of welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, —	152
Address of welcome from the Marwari Associa- tion, —	154
Address of welcome from the British Indian Association, —	160
Address of welcome from the Marwari Associa- tion	154
General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon at — ..	482
Calcutta Club Dinner	508

Calcutta,		
European Association Dinner at —	..	162, 493
Calcutta Marwari Association,		
Deputation of — .. ..	..	362
Calcutta,		
Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at — ..	..	514
Opening of the King George's Dock at — ..	..	525
Rotary Club Luncheon at — .. ..	..	502
Speech at the Bengal Club Dinner at — ..	..	168
United Service Club Dinner, — .. ..	..	156
Cawnpore,		
General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon at — ..	..	118
Cawnpore Municipality and Cawnpore District Board,		
Address of welcome from the — .. ..	..	130
Central National Muhammadan Association,		
Address of welcome from the —, Calcutta ..	..	146
Central Provinces Agriculturists,		
Address presented by the — .. ..	..	33
Chamber, Buyers' and Shippers',		
Address of welcome from the — and the Indian Merchants' Association, Karachi ..	..	310
Chamber of Commerce, Bengal National,		
Address of welcome from the —, Calcutta ..	..	152
Chamber of Commerce, Bombay,		
Address of welcome from the — .. ..	..	4
Chamber of Commerce, Karachi,		
Luncheon at the — .. ..	..	520
Chamber of Commerce, Northern India,		
Address of welcome from the — .. ..	..	74
Chamber of Commerce, Rangoon,		
Address of welcome from the Burma India,		
— .. ..	..	461

	PAGE.
Chamber of Princes,	
Opening of the 6th Session of the ——— ..	104
Opening of the 7th Session of the ——— ..	399
Opening of the 8th Session of the ——— ..	547
Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon, Associated,	
General Meetings of the ———	118, 432
Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta,	
Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian ———	514
Chelmsford Club Dinner	24, 575
Club, Delhi Flying,	
Opening of the ———	541
College of Science, Nagpur,	
Laying of the foundation stone of the new ———	37
College of Science,	
Opening of the ———, Patna University ..	455
College, Rajkumar,	
Prize-giving at the ———, Rajkot	342
College, St. Stephen's,	
Prize distribution at ———, Delhi	564
Conference, Opium,	
Opening of the ——— at Simla	248
Convocation of the Delhi University	225
Convocation of the Mysore University	268
Co-operative Union, Punjab,	
Address of welcome from the ———	74
Council House,	
Opening of the ——— at New Delhi	196
Council of State and Legislative Assembly,	
Speeches at the ———	47, 281, 389, 570
Cutch,	
Speech at Banquet at ———	325

D

Delhi,				
Opening of the Delhi S. P. C. A. Hospital and Refuge at ———				420
Delhi Flying Club,				
Opening of the ———				541
Delhi University,				
Convocation of the ———				225
Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu Districts,				
Address presented by the representatives of the ———				95
Dhanbad School of Mines,				
Opening of the ———				140
Dholpur,				
Speech at Banquet at ———				412
Dinner,				
Bengal Club, Calcutta				168
Calcutta Club				508
Chelmsford Club, Simla				24, 575
European Association, Calcutta				162, 493
Institution of Engineers				447
Millowners' Association, Bombay				371
Orient Club, Rangoon				465
Punjab Legislative Council				80
St. Andrew's, Rangoon				467
United Service Club, Calcutta				156
District Board, Allahabad,				
Address of welcome from the ———				137
District Board, Benares,				
Address of welcome from the ———				175
District Board, Cawnpore,				
Address of welcome from the ———				130

VIII

D

PAGE.

District Board, Lahore,

Address of welcome from the —	74
Durbar at Lahore	63
Durbar at Quetta	242
Durbar at Rajkot	347
Durbar at Taunggyi	472

E

East Africa,

Deputation of Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in — ..	288
Engineers, Institution of — Dinner ..	447
European Association, Calcutta,	
Address of welcome from the — ..	10
European Association Dinner, Calcutta ..	162, 493

F

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce,

Opening of the Annual Session of the — ..	514
Ferozepore Headworks,	
Opening of the —	294
Flying Club, Delhi,	
Opening of the —	541

G

Gang Canal,

Opening of the —, Bikanir	297
Gwalior,	
Unveiling of statue of Mahadji Maharaj at —	557

H

Hazara, Peshawar and Kohat Districts,

Address of welcome from the —	88
Hindu Association,	
Address of welcome from the All-Sind — at Karachi	314

Hospital,

Laying of the foundation stone of the New — at Jamnagar	330
Laying of the foundation stone of a — at Ratlam	435
Opening of the Sir Leslie Wilson — at Baria ..	363
Opening of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals — and Refuge, Delhi	420
Opening of the Irwin — at Amraoti ..	429

I

Imperial Airways Aeroplane,

Naming of the —	195
-------------------------	-----

Indian Christians,

Address of welcome from the All-India Con- ference of —	59
--	----

Indian Legislature,

Address at the Simla Session of the — (1926)	47
Address at the Delhi Session of the — (1927)	200
Address at the Delhi Session of the — (1928)	389
Address at the Delhi Session of the — (1929)	528

Indian Radio Telegraph Company's Wireless Beam
Service,

Inauguration of the —	258
-------------------------------	-----

Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance
Association,

Combined Annual General Meetings of the —	19, 254, 422, 593
---	----------------------

Islam Headworks at Bahawalpur,

Opening of the —	302
--------------------------	-----

J

Jamnagar, New Hospital,

Laying of the foundation stone of the — ..	330
--	-----

Jamnagar,

Speech at Banquet at —	331
--------------------------------	-----

Jirga, Afridi,

Address of welcome from the — at Landikotal	93
---	----

X

J

PAGE.

Jirga at Tank (Maliks of the Mahsud, Wana, Wazir and Bhattanni Tribes),

Address presented by the — 99

Jodhpur,

Speech at Banquet at — 382

Junagadh,

Speech at Banquet at — 340

K

Kapurthala,

Speech at Banquet at — 355

Karachi,

Address from the Indian Merchants' Association
and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber at
— 310

Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Luncheon .. 320

Karachi Municipality,

Address of welcome from the — 306

Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares,

Address from the — 187

King George's Dock, Calcutta,

Opening of the — 525

Kohat, Hazara and Peshawar Districts,

Address of welcome from the — 88

Kotah,

Speech at Banquet at — 559

Kundla Railway,

Opening of the — 329

L

Lahore,

Addresses of welcome from the Lahore Municipal
Committee, Lahore District Board, Punjab
Co-operative Union, District Soldiers' Board
and Northern Indian Chamber of Commerce
at — 74

Address of welcome from the Punjab Chiefs'
Association at — 69

	PAGE.
Lahore,	
Address to the Boy Scouts at —	73
Lahore District Board,	
Address of welcome from the —	74
Lahore Municipal Committee,	
Address of welcome from the —	74
Lahore,	
Durbar at	63
Lahore,	
Punjab Legislative Council, Dinner at — ..	80
Landholders' Association, Bengal,	
Address of welcome from the —	479
Landholders' Association, Bihar,	
Address of welcome from the —	452
Landikotal,	
Address of welcome from the Afridi Jirga at —	93
Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School, Lovedale	277
Lawrence Royal Military School, Sanawar,	
Distribution of Prizes at —	444
Legislative Assembly,	
Address at the Delhi Session of the — (1927)	200
Address at the Delhi Session of the — (1929)	528
Legislatures,	
Addresses to the Combined —	47, 281, 389, 570
Luncheon,	
Karachi Chamber of Commerce — ..	320
Luncheon,	
Rotary Club —, Calcutta	503

M

Mahadji Maharaj,	
Unveiling of statue of — at Gwalior ..	557
Mahsud, Wana, Wazir and Bhattanni Tribes,	
Address from the Maliks of — at Tank ..	99

	PAGE.
Mandalay Municipal Committee, Address of welcome from the —	475
Mawwari Association, Address of welcome from the —, Calcutta	154
Deputation of the Calcutta —	362
Mile owners' Association, Bombay, Dinner given by the —	371
Mohammedan Association, Central National, Address of welcome from the —, Calcutta	146
Mohammedan Association, Sind, Address of welcome from the —, Karachi	317
Municipal Board, Allahabad, Address of welcome from the —	137
Municipal Commission of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, Address of welcome from the —	264
Municipal Council of Bangalore City, Address of welcome from the —	263
Municipal Board of Benares, Address of welcome from the —	175
Municipal Corporation of Bombay, Address of welcome from the —	1
Municipal Board of Cawnpore, Address of welcome from the —	130
Municipality of Karachi, Address of welcome from the —	306
Municipal Committee of Lahore, Address of welcome from the —	74
Municipal Committee of Mandalay, Addresses of welcome from the —	475
Municipal Council of Mysore, Address of welcome from the —	267

M

	PAGE.
Municipal Council of Ootacamund and the Hill Tribes of Nilgiris,	
Addresses of welcome from the —	275
Municipality of Peshawar,	
Address of welcome from the —	86
Municipality (Suburban) of Poona,	
Address of welcome from the —	41
Municipality of Quetta,	
Address of welcome from the —	239
Municipal Corporation of Rangoon,	
Address of welcome from the —	460
Municipal Committee of Simla,	
Address of welcome from the —	7
Municipal Council of Vizagapatam,	
Address of welcome from the —	427
Muslims of Bombay Presidency,	
Address of welcome from the —	43
Mysore,	
Speech at Banquet at —	270
Mysore Municipal Council,	
Address of welcome from the —	267
Mysore University,	
Convocation of the —	268

N

Nagpur,	
Address presented by the Agriculturists of the Central Provinces and Berar at — ..	33
Laying of the foundation stone of the new College of Science at —	37
Nilgiris, Hill Tribes of,	
Addresses of welcome from the Municipal Council of Ootacamund and the —	275
Northern India Chamber of Commerce,	
Address of welcome from the —	74

O

Ootacamund Municipal Council and the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris, Addresses of welcome from the — ..	275
Opium Conference, Opening of the — at Simla	248
Orient Club Dinner at Rangoon	465
Oudh Taluqdars, Address of welcome from the —	218

P

Patiala, Speech at Banquet at —	416
Patna University, Opening of the Science College of the — ..	455
Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts, Address of welcome from the —	88
Peshawar Municipality, Address of welcome from the —	86
Poona Suburban Municipality, Address from the —	41
Porbandar, Speech at Banquet at —	337
Portrait, Marquis of Reading's, Unveiling of the — in the Council Chamber, New Delhi	409
Princes, Chamber of, Opening of the 6th Session of the — ..	104
Opening of the 7th Session of the — ..	399
Opening of the 8th Session of the — ..	547
Punjab Chiefs' Association, Address of welcome from the —	69
Punjab Co-operative Union, Address of welcome from the —	74
Punjab Legislative Council Dinner	80

Q

Quetta,				
Durbar at —	..	..	..	242
Quetta Municipality,				
Address of welcome from the —	..		..	239

R

Rajkot,				
Durbar at —	..	..	..	347
Speech at Banquet at —		..	..	350
Rajkumar College, Rajkot,				
Prize-giving at —	..	..	..	342
Rampur,				
Speech at Banquet at —		..	..	192
Rangoon Municipal Corporation,				
Address of welcome from the —	..		..	460
Rangoon,				
Orient Club Dinner at —		..	..	465
St. Andrew's Dinner at —		..	..	467
Ranjit Singh High School,				
Laying of the foundation stone of the Sir —				
at Baria ..	..	..	..	363
Ratlam Hospital,				
Laying of the foundation stone of the —	..			435
Reading's Portrait, Marquis of,				
Unveiling of the — in the Council Chamber,				
New Delhi ..	..	..	..	409
Rewa,				
Speech at Banquet at —		..	..	379
Rotary Club Luncheon at Calcutta	..		..	503

S

School,				
Lawrence Memorial Royal Military, Lovedale ..				277

	PAGE.
School, Lawrence Royal Military, Distribution of prizes at the — at Sanawar ..	444
School, Sir Ranjit Singh High, Laying of the foundation of the — at Baria ..	363
School of Mines, Dhanbad, Opening of the —	140
Science College, Nagpur, Laying of the foundation stone of the new —	37
Science College, Patna University, Opening of the —	455
Simla, Chelmsford Club Dinner at —	24, 575
Simla Municipal Committee, Address of welcome from the —	7
Sind, Address of welcome from the All- — Hindu Association	314
Sind Muhammadan Association, Address of welcome from the —, Karachi ..	317
Society for the Prevention to Cruelty to Animals Hospital and Refuge, Delhi, Opening of the —	420
Soldiers' Board, Lahore District, Address of welcome from the —	74
Srinagar, Speech at Banquet at —	234
St. Andrew's Dinner at Rangoon	467
St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, Combined annual general meetings of the —	19, 251, 422, 593
St. Stephen's College, Prize distribution at —, Delhi	564

T

Taluqdars of Oudh,			
Address of welcome from the — ..			213
Tank,			
Address of welcome from the Malikhs of Mahsud, Wana, Wazir and Bhattanni Tribes at —			99
Tansa Completion Water Works at Bombay,			
Opening of the — ..			376
Taunggyi,			
Durbar at — ..			472
Taunggyi Town Council,			
Address of welcome from the — ..			471
Tochi Agency,			
Visit to — ..			94

U

Udaipur,			
Speech at Banquet at — ..			387
United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta ..			156
University, Benares Hindu,			
Laying of the foundation stone of the — Library ..			178
University, Delhi,			
Convocation of the — ..			225
University, Mysore,			
Convocation of the — ..			268
University, Patna,			
Opening of the Science College of the — ..			455
Utmanzai Wazirs and Daurs,			
Address of welcome from the — ..			94

V

Vizagapatam Municipal Council,			
Address of welcome from the — ..			427

xviii

	PAGE.
W	
Wazirs, Utmanzai, and Dauris,	
Address of welcome from the —	94
Wireless Beam Service,	
Inauguration of the Indian Radio Telegraph Com-	
pany's —	258
Y	
Young Men's Christian Association,	
Opening of the — building in New Delhi ..	359

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SPEECHES BY LORD IRWIN.

—
1926.
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ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL COR- PORATION OF BOMBAY.

The Right Honourable the Lord and Lady Irwin arrived at ^{1st} April Bombay on the 1st April and were presented with an Address ^{1926.} of Welcome from the Bombay Municipality, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I greatly value the cordial welcome you have extended to me on behalf of the citizens of this great city of Bombay. I am the more deeply gratified by your observations, because you have greeted me, not as a stranger, but as one who comes among you with family associations of service on behalf of India. When some twenty years ago it fell to me myself to spend a short time in India, I little thought that I might one day return to be responsible for its administration. For the last five years the weight of that responsibility has been faithfully and untiringly sustained by Lord Reading, and it has not been without some natural misgiving that I have surveyed the magnitude of the field in which I am, following him, to labour.

But if India is great, India is also generous, and I take courage from the esteem in which the name of my grandfather is still held among you. Your kindly words in his regard are evidence that India is not unmindful of services rendered to her, and will reinforce my determination

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.

to work for the discharge of the duties entrusted to me by His Majesty the King Emperor.

As you observe, it is fitting that the future representative of His Majesty the King Emperor should be received on landing in India at this Gateway with its precious memories of Their Imperial Majesties. For I come to you, not only to be the future Governor-General of India appointed by the King Emperor and entrusted with the guidance of his Government in India, but as His Majesty's future Viceroy also. I therefore come charged with that spirit of sympathy and trust, and with that ardent desire to promote the welfare of India and the happiness of her people with which His Majesty's feelings towards India have always been instinct.

Gentlemen, you have spoken of the wide responsibilities which you bear in the civic administration of this city. It is my hope at no distant date to make myself acquainted at first hand with some of the problems, and to see some of the improvements to which you have made allusion. I am gratified to observe that in the forefront of your projects you place the relief of suffering, the improvement of public health and the extension of education. I am likewise impressed by the courage with which you face your task, and the manifest enthusiasm by which you are inspired. In no directions may you more surely give expression to the lofty ambition of promoting the moral and material happiness of our fellow men.

I can well realise the especial difficulties which confront you in Bombay, where East meets West and where you deal at one and the same time with a populous oriental city, a great centre of flourishing industries, and a vast cosmopolitan port. In all wise proposals for the amelioration of social conditions and the improvement of amenities in the capital of the Presidency, I feel sure that

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.

you may count upon the warm sympathy of its Governor Sir Leslie Wilson. It is a matter of keen regret to me, not less I am sure than it is to you, that His Excellency is not present with us to-day. We all share the fervent hope that Lady Wilson may be speedily and completely restored to health.

I take note of the passage in your Address in which you claim for Bombay more generous treatment in financial and other matters. You will not expect me now to make any pronouncement on these subjects. It would not, indeed, be proper for me to do so until I have had time to make such enquiries for myself as will enable me to gain a just perspective of Indian affairs. But I can at least assure you that these enquiries will be informed with sympathy for your difficulties, with personal attention to your claims, and with a firm determination to hold the scales even between the conflicting claims of all classes, communities and provinces.

Neither will you, I am confident, expect one, who is only on the threshold of his Viceroyalty, to speak to you to-day on the vast and momentous constitutional questions which are implicit in your reference to provincial autonomy and to the position of Indians overseas. On such grave matters, India has a right to claim that those who come to serve her, should come with minds open to the free impact of Indian thought. It is accordingly natural and right that you should take this, the earliest opportunity, of placing before me, both the anxieties and the aspirations which occupy your minds; and it will be both my duty and my pleasure to spare no efforts, so far as I rightly may, for the relief of those anxieties, and the understanding of those aspirations.

I am touched by the warm welcome you have offered to Lady Irwin. Let me assure you that she looks forward

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

eagerly to her life in India with the opportunities that it must afford of carrying on the great work performed by Lady Reading and her predecessors. The women and children of India in particular may count on her unfailing sympathy, and all well conceived projects that may assist the forces engaged in constant battle with suffering and disease, and may make for the enhancement of the general welfare of the poor, will find in her a sure and ready friend.

Gentlemen, once more I thank you for the kindness with which you have received me, and for your generous wishes for my success in the task on which I am about to enter.

To no man is it given to forecast the future, or to predict what work it may be given to any one of us to do for India. But whatever the record of these next years, one thing for myself I can unreservedly declare, that you have to-day welcomed an earnest and sincere well-wisher of India at her Gate.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE.

3rd April
1926.

In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at Bombay II. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I thank you warmly for the welcome you have extended to us in the name of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. I am grateful for your reference to the family connection which I may claim to have with India through my grandfather, and to my own public work in England. I trust that my past association with several departments of Government at home, and with different parts of the Empire as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies may assist me in the duties which I am about to undertake in India.

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

You have, Gentlemen, in your address, touched upon one matter in which I, though new to India, take the deepest interest. This is the appointment of a Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which I note with satisfaction your approval.

By instinct and upbringing I am a countryman, and as a former Minister of Agriculture in England I have been brought into close contact with its administrative problems. I am therefore able to appreciate at their full worth the wisdom and statesmanship of Lord Reading, at whose instance this commission was set up. For in a country where agriculture is the principal industry, there can be no higher object than to increase the prosperity of the cultivators who form the overwhelming majority of the population.

Experience, however, elsewhere has taught me that there is no royal road or short cut to agricultural improvement. Nature moves at her own pace, and to deal even with a single crop demands years of patient labour, and the necessary processes of research, experiment, demonstration and seed distribution cannot be hurried. But agricultural progress is not only a question of plant or stock improvement. It depends upon the solution of a host of allied problems, of which education and co-operative credit are only two of the most important.

In all this vast field, nothing has impressed me more than the results already achieved by your agricultural workers. I have only recently become acquainted with their work, and I find that, since agricultural departments in the modern sense were created over 20 years ago by Lord Curzon, important results have been achieved in the case of certain crops such as wheat, sugarcane, cotton (to which you specially refer) and jute, results which have led to a wide increase in the country's wealth.

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

But where much has been done, much yet remains to do ; and it will I presume be the duty of the Commission to review existing conditions and to examine how best the discoveries of modern science and modern administrative methods can be harnessed to Agriculture's needs. They will no doubt consider, among other matters, the most effective organization of research work ; the best means of ensuring a supply of trained workers in laboratory and field ; and of bringing home to cultivators fully proved results ; the maintenance of the purity of selected seed and its distribution ; as well as the vital question of the provision of the adequate funds. And, while advising measures to secure the greatest co-ordination of effort between the governments in India, it will be their duty to keep steadily in view the preservation of the newly gained independence of the Provinces in this branch of public administration.

Their task, therefore, is difficult, but they will be supported by the good-will of all who recognise that if the Commission can point the way to a wider application of modern methods to agriculture, the benefits will not be confined to those who till the soil, but must lead to a general increase of national prosperity.

Their recommendations will be made during my time in India, and I shall count myself fortunate if I can at all assist in the progressive amelioration of the conditions of the rural population.

You refer also in the course of your Address to questions affecting trade, finance, and taxation. I can assure the Chamber that these questions will have my earnest attention, and I had looked forward to discussing them, on my arrival, with Sir Leslie Wilson. I greatly regret his absence and deplore the cause that has made it necessary. I am sure I express the feelings of everyone present

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipal Committee.

here to-day when I say how deeply we feel for him in his anxiety, and I pray God that Lady Wilson may soon recover her health and be able to return to you. At present I am not in possession of the latest detailed information in regard to the important matters dealt with in this section of your Address, and you will not therefore ask me to do more than give you an assurance as I gladly do, that when I have equipped myself with the knowledge necessary to fuller understanding, I shall do all that may be within my power to encourage the trade and to further the prosperity of this great and famous City.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me again express to you my thanks for the warmth of the welcome you have extended to Lady Irwin and myself, on the eve of our assumption of new and exacting responsibilities. It will be our constant desire to make acknowledgment of your good wishes, by losing no occasion of rendering the best service that we may to India and to all classes of her people.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SIMLA MUNICIPAL
COMMITTEE.

In replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the Simla Municipal Committee at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

27th April
1926.

Gentlemen,—On behalf of Lady Irwin and myself I thank you warmly for your address of welcome. In the ordinary course of events many months of my period of office in India will necessarily be spent within the limits of your Municipality and among the Residents of Simla whom you represent. It is for this reason a special gratification to receive within a few days of my arrival in Simla this expression of your kindly feelings towards us.

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipal Committee.

I value your good wishes for my Viceroyalty, and the assurance which they convey that in my endeavours to promote the progress and prosperity of the people of India I may count upon the understanding sympathy of responsible bodies, such as your Committee.

I appreciate very warmly your reference to my grandfather's work for India. This is not an occasion, even if I wished to do so, to try the auguries, and from these omens to enter into the dangerous paths of prophecy. But the measure of generous recognition which history has assigned to the work which he sought to do will be a constant encouragement to me as I meet many critical questions calling for decision during my term of office.

I may incidentally observe that my grandfather has some connection with our meeting to-day. For it was he who accepted the proposal pressed with vigour by Sir John Lawrence that the Governor-General and his Council should leave Calcutta in the summer months. It was Sir John Lawrence who later wrote, referring to Simla "This place of all Hill Stations seems to me the best for the Supreme Government".

It may fall to the lot of other Municipal Committees to guide the administration of cities with larger populations than Simla, and to provide for the diverse needs of commerce and industry which are not to be found in the Summer Metropolis of India. Yet, though your responsibilities in such directions may not be so wide as those of other Municipal Committees to which I have referred, they must surely in some aspects be quite unique in character and in complexity. The maximum population to be served in Simla in no season attains an excessive total. Nevertheless the difficulties of the natural

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipal Committee.

configuration of the mountain fastnesses in which your work lies, extend the sphere of your activities over a formidable mileage, and must present problems for the Municipal services and inspection staff, which are undreamt of in the philosophy of Municipalities upon more even surfaces. No other Municipality in India, moreover, has to provide at the same time for the needs of the summer headquarters of both a Central Government and a Provincial Government, with their large migratory establishments. And, if these difficulties were not enough, you have super-added to them the influx of population which follows upon the sessions of two Chambers of the Central Legislature and, in addition, occasional meetings of a Provincial Council. Thus, while you may not have the problems of a large poor population or of congested industrial settlements to deal with, you have to cater for a highly developed and no doubt at times critical body of residents with a wide range of needs and exacting standards of requirements. The migrations of Governments and the consequent ebb and flow of the population can hardly fail to add in a special degree to the complexity of your Municipal administration, the adjustment of your expenditure and the management of sources of revenue; and when you come before me, as you do to-day, grateful for assistance previously given but without any further request for special subventions, I recognise the wise forethought and devotion to Municipal interests which must have characterised your administration in the past, and felicitate you on your public spirit, independence, and self-reliance. I congratulate you also on the success with which you have carried through the vital question of the new water-supply. I shall take an early opportunity to make myself familiar with your local institutions. You may count on my sympathy and interest in all that you project for the improvement of the amenities of Simla.

Address of Welcome from the European Association.

Lady Irwin eagerly looks forward to taking an active part in the work of both local and all-India Associations for the relief of suffering and the improvement of social conditions. The field of work in India is so wide that it must be with some misgivings that she approaches the task ; but she relies with confidence upon the support and assistance of keen and sympathetic fellow-workers among all classes of the community, and hopes that their joint efforts in this field may be rewarded by some addition to the total of human happiness in India.

Gentlemen, I thank you once more for your address and am glad to have made your acquaintance, which I hope during these next years my residence in Simla will give me the opportunity to extend.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE EUROPEAN
ASSOCIATION.

15th May In replying to an Address of Welcome from the European
1928. Association, which was presented at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on
15th May, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I should like to say at the outset how highly I appreciate the feelings by which you have been actuated in coming to Simla to present this address of welcome to Lady Irwin and myself. Your visit here has not only involved the inconvenience incidental to a long journey, but has also been made at a moment when climatic conditions hardly allow that journey to be comfortable. But I can assure you that I am very sensible of the advantage which it is to me to make the acquaintance of your President and the members of your Council, and thus be brought into direct touch with the aims and objects of your Association in the first months of my period of office. Your Association was I understand, founded

Address of Welcome from the European Association.

rather more than 40 years ago and up to recent times found little necessity or inducement to take any very continuous or active interest in politics. But the great changes which subsequently found expression in the reformed constitution in India led you to re-examine your methods and activities from a new angle. I can readily appreciate how weighty was the decision which rested upon your Council as to the course then to be pursued. The terms of that decision are clearly set out in the published policy of the Association and in the statement of the considerations which govern the action of your Council, and it would be superfluous for me to congratulate you on the decision or on the manner in which it has been carried out. My predecessor in December last has already paid an eloquent tribute, the fruit of his close observation during the past five years, to the part you have played in public life and in working the reforms.

It was hardly possible that, with sympathies and political ideals rooted in British traditions, you should have followed any other course. Your duty was clear ; your inclinations, your past services in the development of this country, your intimate association with it, the great interests you represent, and the contribution which it was in your power to make : all these conspired to impose responsibility and to preclude indifference. It was thus inevitable that you, well versed in the spirit of representative institutions, should feel impelled to take a direct and important part when India made her first steps towards responsible Government.

Each one of us can interpret, in terms of his own experience and thought, the objects which representative institutions are designed to serve. Such institutions in turn make a direct claim upon every community and upon every individual to subordinate their own immediate interests, ambitions or prejudices to the common good.

Address of Welcome from the European Association.

From each and all, these times ask a contribution according to capacity. There is none so rich and powerful that he may afford to turn a deaf ear to their appeal, there is none so poor or weak that his contribution is not of value.

Behind and beyond all political or religious differences and disputes, the Government and the people of India, as I conceive the position, are partners in a great undertaking—that of fashioning the future of India with its as yet unknown reactions upon the lives of 300 millions of our fellow human beings. Some can bring gifts to the inspiration by which the whole must be illumined ; some can assist in tracing the design ; many can be at work on the intricate mosaic out of which the picture is to take shape and colour. Real progress indeed can only come through responsibilities realised and accepted, and we may feel very sure that the task is one which will be successfully accomplished only by those who approach their work with hope in their eyes and trust in their hearts. For only through the mutual understanding and confidence of the workers can the design reach completion ; and it must depend on the efforts of all those who love India and seek to do her service whether the completed picture will be worthy to adorn the temple of history.

Meanwhile, as you observe in your address, the day is drawing nearer when accomplishment will be weighed on its merits and when the Mother of Parliaments will be called on to give an impartial verdict upon the measure of achievement in a sphere in which her store of experience invests her with special qualifications to judge.

It is a source of encouragement to me that in my administration, which must be expected to cover the period in which these grave questions will claim decision, I may count upon the support of your association and

*Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from
Provincial Governments.*

may look forward, as occasion may demand, to receiving the benefit of your judgment and advice. I shall value this help. In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me assure you that, at the inception of my work in India, I know only the single desire of joining hands with all, whether British or Indian, official or un-official, who are striving to build the India that is to be. It is permissible to hope that by such common effort we may win the privilege of giving something to the solution of those problems on which depend the well-being and ordered progress of this country and its people.

CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS AND DIRECTORS OF
AGRICULTURE FROM PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech in opening the Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from Provincial Governments at Simla on the 7th June :—

Gentlemen,—When Sir Muhammad Habibullah Khan made a proposal to me that I should open the proceedings of this Conference, I gladly accepted his suggestion. Before I was appointed to my present office, I was responsible as Minister of Agriculture in England for the activities of Government in this sphere. Before that again I had for many years past farmed a good deal of my own land in England, and have there learnt by sad experience to sympathise with what is often the hard lot of those who seek to direct the powerful but wayward energies of nature. I accordingly welcomed the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the Ministers of Local Governments who are responsible for agricultural policy in the Provinces and of the Directors who are concerned with the execution of the policy and the technical

*Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from
Provincial Governments.*

and scientific operations of the provincial agricultural departments.

It is therefore a pleasure to me to be able to meet you to-day ; and this contact I shall hope to renew when I visit the different Provinces. I shall then, I trust, have opportunities of acquiring at first-hand information of your achievements and of seeing something of the projects you have in contemplation. You can count on my constant interest in all you are doing and on my profound conviction of the importance of your work both to the Local Governments and in relation to the general prosperity of India.

Circumstances invest our meeting with a special importance. This Conference has been called to discuss certain preliminary steps connected with the forthcoming enquiry by the Royal Commission. Its aim is to concert measures by which the work of the Commission may be facilitated and to prepare a field in which the Commission on arrival in India may, without obstacles or complications, forthwith put its hand to the plough and proceed with its task. You, Gentlemen, with your special knowledge of the wide range of the enquiry and of the great complexity of the subject in India will readily realise the importance to the Commission of your discussions regarding the collection of material, the co-ordination of memoranda, bibliography, itineraries and other preparatory steps. It is essential to place at the disposal of the Committee the fruits of the expert advice of those possessing intimate experience of these subjects if the Commission is to be enabled to form an adequate conspectus of the problems with which it is to deal ; and let me add that both the Commission and my Government are greatly indebted to you for the assistance you are rendering by assembling here to confer and advise upon these questions.

*Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from
Provincial Governments.*

The reasons for the appointment of the Royal Commission have been very fully explained in published official papers and in public speeches made by my predecessor, Lord Reading ; and as the proposals for the enquiry received the general approval of the Local Governments, whose advisers in these matters you are, it is unnecessary for me to dwell further upon them now save to express my own satisfaction that an enquiry with such wide possibilities of benefit to India is to be held during my period of office.

There is good reason to be satisfied with what has been achieved in India in recent years in connection with the improvement of agriculture both in the spheres of central research under the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments. Nevertheless I am convinced that the right moment has come for the examination of agricultural policy in its widest bearings by an independent body of real authority. A stage in agricultural development has been reached where the reactions of the problem have become so important that they deserve investigation not only from the inside, as we see them, but from the outside and from a different line of approach.

Excluding some sporadic and intermittent work at an earlier period, almost a quarter of a century has now passed since Government first began to undertake systematic operations for the improvement of agriculture in India. These 25 years have seen the establishment and growth of scientific agriculture. During the same period there has been a remarkable expansion in irrigation facilities. A change has in this manner been brought about in the area and conditions in which the results of agricultural research can be demonstrated and applied.

*Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from
Provincial Governments.*

We are on the threshold of further developments in this direction. From this point of view the time is favourable to take stock of the position by examining and comparing the scientific and technical work carried out by central and provincial agencies, by testing its utility in the light of scientific work elsewhere, and above all by considering whether development on the present lines is by itself sufficient to secure progressive improvement in rural conditions, or whether it will require to be supplemented by other measures different in character or more comprehensive in scope.

There are other reasons why the improvement of Indian agriculture has become a matter of more than purely domestic interest. India now has a definite place in the markets of the world. Her position as a source of supply of cotton, jute, wheat, oilseeds and other raw products is likely in future to be increasingly important to consumers in other parts of the world; and the expansion of the quantity and the improvement of the quality of Indian agricultural produce is a matter of serious concern in the general economic structure of the world's supply of food and clothing. The development of India's agricultural potentialities has now become essential to the maintenance of her commercial position. It is vital to her financial position and to the economic welfare of her people. India has to bear in mind the possibility of organised competition from other quarters in certain lines of supply where she now meets a part of a world demand and receives a substantial income in return. Fluctuations in the bulk of her supplies or inferiority in quality as compared with supplies from elsewhere might at any moment cause her to lose a market with those disastrous repercussions on her commercial, financial and

*Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from
Provincial Governments.*

economic position which a contraction in exports must involve.

The most important problem of all is the welfare of the Indian agriculturist. More than 71 per cent. of the population of India are entirely dependent for their livelihood on agriculture. The population of India generally is rural rather than urban. The large town and the industrial centre is the exception. The common feature is the hamlet and the village, and it is in rural life that both in the past and present India has found her most distinct medium of self-expression. The Indian agriculturist is accordingly the foundation upon which the whole economic prosperity of India rests and upon which the structure of her social and political future must in the main be built. No system of administration could be justified which did not aim at making an improvement in his standard of life and his equipment to take a proper share in her future its first and chief concern. I recognize that the Provincial Governments in their administration have never lost sight of this ideal ; but with the constitutional changes of recent years it has become increasingly evident that the rural elector is bound to play a great part in the destinies of India ; and the question of fitting him to understand and exercise his responsibilities has now emerged as one of the most pressing problems of present day conditions in India. Any light which can be thrown from a new angle of view on the question of improving his position will be of the greatest service to the future of the country ; and no avenue should be left unexplored which promises to lead to some new line of development, or to some hitherto unperceived potentiality of progress.

One of the most insistent of the questions for exploration is whether the economic condition of the

*Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from
Provincial Governments.*

peasantry has improved *pari passu* with the other great changes which have taken place in India during past years—with her entry, for example, into foreign markets, with the improvement in communications and with the rapid growth of commerce ; and if the answer is in the negative, what are the causes that operate to prevent the agriculturist getting his proper share in the influx of wealth ? The standard of life of the Indian peasant is the deciding factor not only of his own rate of progress but also of his contribution to the volume of the world's industrial demand, on which in a world daily growing in this sense more compact, the daily bread of so large a number of his fellow-human beings depends. If it be the case to-day that Indian agriculture can for the majority of those concerned only produce rewards at too low a subsistence level to permit of much progress in general living standards, what courses are open to us ?

We can acquiesce—with good or ill grace—according to temperament in things as they are. We can seek a remedy by the reduction of numbers of those striving to live off the products of Indian soil. Each of these surely is a counsel of despair. Finally, we can change the position to India's advantage by calling upon Science to unlock her secrets, and take the most practical steps to overcome the obstacles which impede the lessons of scientific research from permeating the working practice of the cultivators.

The difficulties by which the general improvement of agriculture in India is hedged about, are so well known to you that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon them in detail. The recurrence of cycles of deficiency in rainfall, scarcity of capital and high rates of interest, excessive fragmentation of holdings, the ravages of pests and

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

disease, the absence of markets for what are profitable by-products of land in other countries and the consequent concentration on tillage and crops and the great diversity of crops grown combine to create a collection of problems for scientific investigation which are not only peculiar to India but unique in their range and complexity. It is to assist in finding the solution of those difficult questions, so vital to the well-being of the Indian agriculturist and the future of the country, that the labours of the Royal Commission will be directed. Though Nature, and human nature, are both very conservative forces, and therefore in matters where they divide the ground between them it were imprudent to anticipate immediate and spectacular results, I am yet confident that the recommendations of the Commission will prove of the greatest value to India and may indeed lead to a new era in agricultural development and give effective impetus to the promotion of rural prosperity. You, Gentlemen, are specially qualified to appreciate how heavy the task is, which lies before them, and I am confident that your discussions regarding the preliminary steps to be adopted to facilitate their work will materially contribute towards the successful issue of this important enquiry.

COMBINED ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY AT SIMLA.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society held at Simla and delivered the following speech :—

24th June
1926.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—By virtue of his office a Viceroy has to perform many tasks. The curious

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

may be inclined to speculate as to how he classifies them. I can remove all uncertainty at once as regards the performance of my duties to-day, because I class the privilege of presiding at the Combined General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John's Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society not among the category of tasks but in that of pleasures; for it is indeed a genuine pleasure to me to meet to-day so many of those who are connected with these two great organisations, to renew touch with the beneficent activities with which I have been familiar in other lands and under other skies and to feel that in my capacity as President I am associated with these movements regarding which no breath of controversy can exist and to which all can extend a sympathy and interest as deep and as warm as my own.

The very kind welcome which you, Your Excellency, and you, Sir Bhupendra, have extended me has in no small measure contributed to my gratification; and if I may venture to add to my obligations to you, I would ask you not only to think of me as the figure-head at your prow, but as one who is anxious by any means in his power to speed your advance on your journey, to call the time for the beat of your sweeps or to bend on an oar in your trireme. I am in complete accord with the objects of your movements and am eager actively to help to promote their successful achievements.

From the history of your recent activities I observe that the past few years have been a period of change and of test. These organisations were born out of Battle; they were proved in the stern school of war. Of their achievements in those conditions I need not speak. They are written in letters of gold on the scroll of the history of humanity. With the close of the Great War this errand of mercy came to an end; and those who had taken so noble a part might have

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

elected to hang up their armour and rest content from their labours ; but the great tale of human suffering in the world held out its challenge. Who was to fight the inroads of preventable disease ? Who was to storm the citadels of ignorance ? Who was to bring relief to those beleaguered by the forces of pain ? Here was a limitless field of battle with all its tragedies and casualties and with an ever-broadening front. The challenge was thrown down and it did not pass unheeded, for in this warfare there is no armistice, and there can be no neutrality. Its appeal rang home to the chivalry of the Knights of St. John ; and the mercy of the Good Samaritan of the Red Cross did not pass it by. The great choice was made ; and the two organisations, unified in purpose by the traditions of war, elected to devote their sympathies and energies to one of the most formidable of the problems of peace—the relief of suffering and the prevention of disease.

The history of the last few years record their achievements in this new field. On the complexities I need not dwell at length. The task is different in kind. It is wider and more difficult in degree. The insistence of crisis has passed ; the great enthusiasm, in which the tragedy of war united all classes, is no longer present as a spur. The manifest and concrete dangers that demanded instant action are out of sight, and thus while the enemy is no less numerous or insidious, the need for effort in consequence seems less intense. The results appear less immediate and less inspiring ; the discouragements may seem greater ; indeed to the individual worker there must at times occur the depressing thought that so vast is the field that, as far as he can judge in his own circumscribed horizon, hardly any deep impression appears to have been made on the great mass of ignorance, prejudice and inertia, and that the fringe

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

only of the problem of the relief of suffering and disease has been touched.

It is in these circumstances that the valuable reports which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Sir B. N. Mitra have presented to-day and their own observations are of particular interest. Only one conclusion can be drawn from them—even by those like myself who have as yet had few opportunities for personal observation—and that is that great work is being done. We may be still some way from the ideal, expressed in the report of the Indian Red Cross Society, that the campaign may attain such a degree of intensity that these organisations should be secure of a welcome in every hearth and home throughout the country ; but both Societies have spread the good seed far and wide. They have their strongholds both in the Provinces and the States ; they number both Princes and people among their workers. They appeal to a public in every rank of society and profession. They command the esteem of the women as well as of the men. They have secured hostages for the future among the rising generation ; and above all, while they still need and deserve in every sense of the word official countenance and help, they are able to look for their main support and strength to an ever-growing band of devoted unofficial disciples and, in the work to be done, to an increasing army of volunteers.

I do not minimise the good that Government organisations such as Ministries of Health, can do in the domain of public health, sanitation and hygiene ; but I believe that their efforts must of necessity be limited in their effect unless there are some other influences of enlightenment in these directions working among the people ; and this is precisely the need that these organisations supply. They bring to bear on these problems not the cold reasoned logic of a considered policy of a Government

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

but something which strikes a more intimate and compelling note, the warm enthusiasm and human advocacy of the experienced social worker.

To those, who reflect upon the great prevalence of suffering in their immediate neighbourhood, these reports bring a message of hope. They may take comfort as they watch the gradual working of the leaven in the lump—

“ For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back through creek and inlet making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.”

At this first meeting of the St. John's Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at which I have presided, I shall not presume to make observations regarding the different branches of the work of those organisations on which Sir William Birdwood and Sir Bhupendra Mitra have dwelt in their interesting speeches; I am content to share in their satisfaction at the substantial progress achieved; but I do wish to add my meed of praise to theirs of the work of the officers of both organisations and of all those who have earned their special commendations for assisting the Indian Council of St. John's Ambulance and the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross Society. I also desire to express my obligations to the Provinces, to the Indian States and the railway administrations in which such full scope has been afforded to the work of these organisations. I hope soon to acquire first-hand knowledge of these activities during my tours in the Provinces and the States and to be able to speak next year with that warmth of approval which springs from direct experience of good work well performed.

CHELMSFORD CLUB DINNER.

17th July
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy dined with the members of the Chelmsford Club, Simla, on the 17th July. The Hon'ble Sir Bhupendranath Mitra proposed the Toast of His Excellency and in reply His Excellency said :—

Sir Bhupendranath, Your Excellency and Members of the Chelmsford Club,—My first duty is to thank you very warmly for inviting me to be your guest to-night. It has been the privilege of my predecessors to enjoy your hospitality on more than one occasion ; and I welcome the opportunity, which your kindness thus affords me of meeting and making some acquaintance with the members of the club and those whom they have invited, along with myself, to be their guests to-night.

I am glad to be associated with a club which provides a meeting place for Indians and Europeans, officials and non-officials, members of the legislatures and others prominent in public life in India. It is here, I understand, that, when the curtain has been rung down on the drama of the day, it is possible to see the actors in the public or official world of Simla and Delhi once more their real selves in private life. Away from the boards and the limelight they can cast care and their set parts aside and may give play instead to their own individualities, tastes and predilections. However much their public performances may have commanded our admiration or unloosed powers of criticism, we must often wonder what manner of men these actors really are or in what new relations they stand to each other when they are off the stage. It is at the Chelmsford Club, I understand, that this curiosity may be partly gratified. It is not for me to divulge its secrets ; but I feel tempted to enlarge on the opportunities it may afford, as I conjecture, for the leader of the House to smoke a friendly cigarette with the leader of the opposition—forgetful for the moment that in public life they are expected to stand towards one another in the respective cast of the villain and hero of the piece or *vice versa* according to the taste of their supporters. Nothing in

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

my view is better calculated to soften the austerities of official or public trammels than friendly intercourse in purely social relations ; and this club in facilitating and promoting such intercourse may count on my warm interest.

Sir Bhupendra has alluded with befitting discretion to some aspects of public affairs ; and I might have been tempted to dwell to-night on political topics or administrative questions now claiming attention ; but as you are aware, the Central Legislature will meet next month, and as is the custom, I hope to address both Chambers at the opening of the session upon questions of this nature, and I do not now propose to anticipate my observations on that occasion. Nevertheless there is one subject which is very vividly present to my thoughts, and which I know is exercising the minds of all thoughtful men and patriots in India. It is indeed so clearly the dominant issue in India life to-day that you will forgive me if I say something about it to you and through you to a wider audience.

As representative of the King-Emperor in India, who shares the joys and sorrows of all his people, it is my duty to interest myself directly in all that concerns India's welfare, and my personal feelings have been deeply stirred by the evidence of widespread communal trouble which impresses itself everyday on my attention. I have no over-confident presumption that it is within my power to find a sovereign remedy for these evils, but at a moment when the clouds are lying so darkly over India, a duty is laid upon each and everyone of us to join in seeking a way through the mists of present doubts and difficulties.

Before I pass on to the examination of the causes of tension and the steps that may be taken to allay it, there are two misconceptions as regards the attitude of Government upon which I must say something. The first is an implication that outbreaks of this character so far from distressing Government afford them some degree of satisfaction, and the second is that Government are content

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

to play the part of an indifferent spectator of these disturbances, and are not doing their best to check them.

It is not my purpose to rebut at length the suggestion that Government welcome these disorders. It has been emphatically repudiated by the Secretary of State in a recent speech, and indeed the whole tenour of British policy towards India, proclaimed and translated into statute by the Imperial Parliament, stands in denial of such a theory. There are no doubt some who entertain mistrust of the British Government, but in other quarters I do not believe that there is any general disposition to impugn the good faith of the British Government or their desire to achieve the progressive realisation of responsible self-government in British India. There are and will be wide differences of opinion as to method and pace, but the great mass of sober Indian opinion still know and believe that they can trust the pledged word of the British people. The most superficial analysis of this policy can lead to no other conclusion than that the British Government recognised from the outset that harmony between the two great communities was an essential condition of the attainment of their goal. And by harmony I do not mean the surrender by either community of its individuality. But I do mean the harmonious intercourse of daily life and the mutual acknowledgment of common rights and duties in all that goes to make up Indian citizenship. Nor was the recognition of the necessity of such harmony confined to British statesmen, for leaders of Indian opinion have again and again confessed by deed and word their belief that it was a primary necessity of Indian national life.

With this knowledge, the Reforms were introduced, and in the course of their working I am certain that to any impartial enquiry every action of Government would be seen to disapprove the charge that they have been indifferent to the need for friendly relations between these two

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

great communities. For the success of our own policy, for the very credit of British statesmanship, we were bound to do and we have done everything in our power to promote such better understanding. If indeed the reality of communal antagonism should prove permanently more powerful than the hope of an All-India patriotism, it is obvious that the foundations upon which we had sought to build would be rudely shaken.

But India has given abundant proof of her power to assimilate her multitudinous people. Shall she fail in this final task? In the evolution of political institutions, the British genius has never yet met defeat. Shall it be forced to admit defeat in India? It is to me unthinkable. I look forward to the day when India may be able through ordered progress to take her rightful place in the great fabric of civilisation for which the British Empire stands. She can only do this, upon the same basis of responsible institutions on which British statesmanship has founded all the other dominions of the King-Emperor, if she can win unity within her own borders; and from this point of view, and indeed on every other ground, we must bitterly deplore these manifestations of communal hostility.

As regards the second point that Government regards these troubles with indifference, it is hardly necessary for me to contradict something which is in palpable conflict with the facts of everyday life as they are known by millions throughout the length and breadth of India. It will suffice to observe that I and my Government are in continuous and anxious communication with the Governors and Local Governments with reference to the measures that have been or are being taken to assuage feeling upon such matters as threaten, when tempers are strained, to cause disturbance. To this end the Local Governments have organised the whole machinery of their District

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

Officers, Magistrates and Police. This agency exercises a constant watchfulness and is ever alert to remove or allay any causes of irritation and to take prompt action against those who would aggravate or fan them into flame. The local officers have never shirked the responsibility of firm but impartial intervention wherever an actual clash between communities has occurred. Communal feeling has added a constant load of care to their normal duties ; but it is these officers who have everywhere taken the initiative in measures to calm excited feelings. It is to them that both communities appeal, in need, for protection and help. Their energy and patience has been worthy of all praise ; and I cannot speak too highly of their arduous and devoted work or of the efforts of local non-officials where, as in many instances, the latter have assisted them in these thankless duties. More particularly I desire to draw attention to the work of the Indian Members of our Services. However upright, energetic or impartial they may be in these exacting circumstances, they run a risk of being blamed by their own or the other community ; and that they do their duty by both communities is a matter of the highest credit to them. In all justice I plead, before criticism is levelled against them, for special consideration of their difficulties. The district officers are everywhere seeking the co-operation of local leaders and men of influence. They warn the press of the danger of emphasising points of communal difference and where possible hold meetings of both communities to prevent incidents likely to cause trouble.

I would indeed hope that in regard to these unhappy differences, those who are able to speak for Hindus and Moslems might, as they must come more and more to realise the damage of conflict, be able themselves to reach working agreements which will no doubt vary in conformity with established local customs. Where voluntary

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

agreements are not possible, it becomes the duty of Local Governments, in virtue of their responsibility for the preservation of law and order, themselves to formulate an administrative decision upon the matter in dispute. My Government will do everything in their power to assist Local Governments in the discharge of this duty, having regard to the possible reaction of local decisions upon other Provinces—and will render every assistance to Local Governments in order to secure that their orders shall be respected. In all these various measures, Government will be careful to act with strict impartiality towards both communities, and are entitled to resent suggestions that they favour the purely communal interests of either.

There is then no room for doubt as to what Government and its officers have done and are ready to do in connection with these deplorable events ; but let me remind you that unfortunately the actual conditions place unsurmountable limitations on the sphere of their activity. They can watch ; they can advise ; they can damp down ardour as it shows itself in different places ; they can stamp out isolated outbreaks of fire ; they can protect life and property to the best of their ability ; but they can do little to change the combustible nature of the mass of the material or to eradicate its potentialities for generating destructive heat.

There are immediate symptoms which can be perceived and treated by administrative action ; but the cause of the disease lies deeper. We are faced with a situation where the minds of the people have been wrought up to such a point that the most absurd rumours find ready credence ; and both sides, nervously apprehending attack, imagine their apprehensions realised in the most trifling incident. A false report, a petty squabble is sufficient to start a general conflagration and to give rise to those savage and senseless outbreaks which are a disgrace to the name of religion and a blot on national life.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

I have observed that in some quarters blame has been attached to communal representation, as being a cause of irritation. Some advantage may be gained by a statement as to the reasons for its existence and the present policy of Government in regard to it. The time may come, and I greatly hope it will, when with general consent the necessity for such special representation will be no longer felt, but to-day as you are aware, statutory arrangements are in force by which minorities are assured of representation in the Legislatures and certain local Bodies. The decision with regard to the latter belongs by law to Local Governments, and falls within the sphere of Transferred Administration, with which the Government of India has no direct power to deal. As regards the Legislatures, these arrangements were the result of a compact to which Indian opinion at the time of the introduction of the reforms desired effect to be given. The Franchise Committee found that the evidence received by them was unanimous in favour of communal electorates and recommended that action should be taken in accordance with the commonly expressed desire. All communities were thus enabled—and indeed the action could hardly be justified on any other grounds—freely to take part together in fashioning India's destiny and opportunity was ensured by which no community should at the outset be impeded in making a joint contribution to a common task. It has been suggested that Government may be induced by pressure from one side or the other to modify or extend these special privileges, and that these hopes or fears are in part responsible for the present discontents. These things will naturally fall within the purview of the Royal Commission, and it is not for me to attempt to anticipate any recommendations they may make ; but I wish to state very plainly on behalf of the Government of India that, in advance of that enquiry, while there is no intention of curtailing the present scope of these special statutory arrangements, there is equally no intention of extending them.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

I have anxiously weighed the possibilities of myself convening an All-India Conference to consider the present situation. If I could think that there was a real likelihood or even a real chance of such action effecting improvement, I should not be deterred from adopting it by the inevitable risk of failure. I trust that as time goes on there will be a mutual disposition among those who can speak for their great communities to adopt such bilateral undertakings in the cause of peace as will reflect the wishes of a substantial majority of opinion in both communities.

There is much to be done before we can reach this happier state, for I need hardly remind you that a Conference with this object was held between the leaders of both communities in October 1924, and this Conference has not succeeded in producing the calmer atmosphere which was hoped of it. It failed in my judgment because it was not preceded by any adequate change of heart and feeling throughout the communities which were there represented. I cannot resist the conclusion that the reason of its failure reveals what must be the first condition of success in any similar attempt. And that is that the two communities should bring themselves to judge of the matters in dispute between them with a far greater measure of toleration and restraint than unhappily prevails at present. The more I ponder over the problem, the more clearly do I feel that the first work to be done is by the leaders of each individual community within their own ranks. It is upon them that the grave responsibility for the first vital step lies. I am convinced that on reflection they will see that the interests of their own community and the future of their country alike demand it. Let the leaders and thoughtful men in each community, the Hindu among the Hindus, and Moslem among the Moslems, throw themselves with ardour into a new form of communal work and into a nobler struggle the fight for toleration. I do

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

not believe that the task is beyond their powers. I see before me two ancient and highly organised societies with able and esteemed public men as their recognised leaders. I cannot conceive that a really sincere and sustained appeal by them to the rank and file of their co-religionists supported by active propaganda of the new gospel of peace would pass unheeded. In past centuries each community has made its great contribution to the annals of history and civilisation in India. The place that she has filled in the world in past ages has been largely of their creating. I refuse to believe that they can make no contribution now to rescue the good name of India from the hurt which their present discords inflict upon it.

In the name of Indian national life, in the name of religion, I appeal to all in each of the two communities who hold position, who represent them in the press, who direct the education of the young, who possess influence, who command the esteem of their co-religionists, who lead them in politics or are honoured by them as divines. Let them begin each in their own community to work untiringly towards this end ; boldly to repudiate feelings of hatred and intolerance, actively to condemn and suppress acts of violence and aggression, earnestly to strive to exorcise suspicions and misapprehensions and so to create a new atmosphere of trust.

I appeal in the name of national life because communal tension is eating into it as a canker. It has suspended its activities. It has ranged its component parts into opposite and hostile camps.

I appeal in the name of religion because I can appeal to nothing nobler, and because religion is the language of the soul, and it is a change of soul that India needs to-day. In all religion, I suppose, there must be present in the mind of the individual a sense of personal deficiency, a consciousness of failure to apprehend more than

*Address presented by the Agriculturists of the Central Provinces
and Berar at Nagpur.*

a fraction of life's mystery, which constantly impels him, with irresistible yearning, to reach out for higher and yet higher things. Whatever indeed be the creed that men profess, such creed is the attempt men make to know the Forces that lie beyond human vision, and learn the secret of how human nature may be refined, and in so doing realise the ultimate purpose of their existence. Achievement is hard and can only come through much patience and humility, which will in turn beget a wide tolerance of the deficiencies of others. But the reward is great, and there can surely be no greater tragedy than that religion, which thus should be the expression and the support of man's highest instincts, should be prostituted by an alliance with actions through which those instincts are distorted and disgraced.

Such a development, if it were unchecked, could only end in the infliction of a mortal wound upon human character, upon India, and upon the cause of that religion in whose guise it was allowed to masquerade.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE AGRICULTURISTS OF
THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR AT NAGPUR.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin accom- 22nd July
panied by their Personal Staff left Simla on the 18th July on 1926.
a brief monsoon Tour. In reply to the address presented by
the Agriculturists of the Central Provinces and Berar at Nag-
pur His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to meet to-
day so many representatives of the great land-owning
classes in the Central Provinces and Berar, and I think
myself fortunate in being able, so soon after my assump-
tion of the duties of Viceroy, to be able to make your
acquaintance and to hear, at first hand, something of your
problems and your needs. Agriculture, as you have said,

Address presented by the Agriculturists of the Central Provinces and Berar at Nagpur.

is a subject in which I have always taken a keen and personal interest. I know from experience its pleasures and its trials, its rewards and its disappointments, and I can assure you that my thoughts are constantly with the many millions in India who, like yourself, anxiously scan the skies and have cause to know and often to fear the fickle qualities of Nature. But none the less, though Nature is often inconstant, and sometimes cruel, to those who are born and bred in it the country-side makes an irresistible appeal. Thinkers of all nations and all ages, poets and philosophers, have sung the praises of the country life as the parent of the most perfect harmony between the physical and spiritual qualities of man. Although, in the nature of things, the voice of the Agriculturist classes is not heard as often or perhaps as loudly as that of dwellers in the towns, you may console yourselves with the thought that it is the country population which is the backbone of any nation, and the foundation of its true prosperity. You may feel therefore well-assured that I shall always listen with a ready and understanding ear to any representation which the agricultural community may make.

I am talking to-day as a farmer to farmers. I know that all of you are men who have interested yourselves, as I have, in modern agriculture and who have practical experience of your profession. You may be certain therefore that I will give my most sympathetic consideration to the various questions you have raised in your interesting address. They are already receiving the attention of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, and many of them in due course will come under careful review at the hands of the forthcoming Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, which, I am confident, will pursue its labours with energy and dispatch.

Address presented by the Agriculturists of the Central Provinces and Berar at Nagpur.

Your Province, as you have said, has an especial interest from the agricultural point of view. It is the meeting point of three of the great crops of India, Wheat, Rice and Cotton. Its methods of cultivation, moreover, vary from those of primitive struggle with nature to the scientific organisation of extensive holdings owned by men of education and means. It is for you, who are present here to-day, to set the example of progress to your less fortunate fellows. Progress in these days is impossible without the close co-operation of science and the spread of education throughout the land-owning classes. The scientific selection of seed, improved machinery and methods of cultivation, fungicides, the restoration to the soil of chemical elements in which it is deficient—these are a few of the many ways in which scientific experiment plays its part in agriculture. Your Government have shown that they are fully alive to this important question. The recent affiliation of the Agricultural College to the University is proof of this. You have moreover demonstration farms, and I am glad to learn that many public-spirited land-owners have for long been associated with the Agricultural Department in making these a success. Much has been done, but there is still more for you to do. In agricultural advance there are always two partners, whose help is mutually essential to the successful discharge of their common task. The man of science pursues his careful and labourious research ; he tests out his theories and reaches at last the point where he can show secure discoveries. But his work is incomplete until he has succeeded in transfusing his hard-won knowledge into the working practice of the actual cultivator. The problem is everywhere the same ; namely, how to marry scientific results to practical experience. And here, it is certain that men learn most readily through the eye, and that most of us are often prepared to trust if we see, where we might mistrust if we only read or hear.

*Address presented by the Agriculturists of the Central Provinces
and Berar at Nagpur.*

Cultivators who see with their own eyes the proved results of new seed, or new methods, will become at once converts to, and missionaries of, the new ideas. I hope therefore that your Agricultural Associations and Co-operative Unions will help to translate into practice the experimental results which scientific enquiry has achieved, and I appeal confidently to you all as practical farmers to continue the close association you have always had with the Agricultural Department. I have learnt with pleasure that in order to encourage such collaboration your Government is at this moment earnestly considering the need for infusing fresh vigour into the co-operative movement.

You have referred in your address to the great increase in cultivated area during recent years and the consequent diminution of grazing lands. Your Government is, I know, fully alive to the necessity for improving the breed of your cattle, both plough bullocks and milk cows, and I shall watch with interest the result of their endeavours. But I need hardly remind you of the service you are doing to your country by increasing the produce of your land. India to-day requires to import many things which she requires for the comfort of her people and the further development of her industries. For these she has to pay by her exports to the markets of the world, and therefore in increasing the quantity and improving the quality of your produce it is good to remember that there is patriotism to your great country as well as profit to yourselves.

But although in these days no country can find all she wants at home and must export her own produce in order to obtain what she requires from abroad, there is ample room in India for developing the manufacture of her raw materials into the finished product. India exports much raw produce which might well be dealt with

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New College of Science at Nagpur.

in Indian mills and Indian factories, and I shall always sympathise with any practical schemes which aim at completing the whole chain of manufacture, from the sowing of the seed to the last touch of the finishing machine, and thus secure for Indian hands the full reward of productive enterprise.

I have heard with great pleasure your testimony to the good work done by your Agricultural Department. Your Province has been fortunate in having had, as one of its pioneer workers, Dr. Clouston, who is now Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India and is at present serving as liaison officer between the Government of India, Local Governments, and the Royal Commission on Agriculture. His presence there is a guarantee that your problems will receive informed attention at their hands. You have also in your Agricultural College an exceptionally well-qualified staff, while in Mr. Plymen, as Head of the Department, and Mr. Allan, who is now officiating for him, you have two men who will not fail to do everything they can to assist your interests.

In bidding you now good-bye, Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for your friendly welcome. I look forward to making in due time a closer acquaintance with the conditions of your every-day life, and I repeat my assurance to you that your prosperity, and that of your brother agriculturists, is of as great concern to me as it is to yourselves.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AT NAGPUR.

In performing the ceremony of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the New College of Science at Nagpur H. E. the Viceroy said :—

24th July
1926.

: *Gentlemen*,—I wish first to assure you of the pleasure I feel in coming here at your invitation to lay the foundation stone of this College of Science. I am grateful for

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New College of Science at Nagpur.

the opportunity of expressing my warm interest in the scheme itself and my admiration for those who have laboured to make it a success. I must also thank Mr. Tambe for the cordiality with which he has welcomed me in the address to which we have just listened. His reference to my grandfather touched me deeply, and it is special gratification to me to be associated, as I am to-day, with the cause of Indian Education, which he had so much at heart. I thank you also for your welcome to Lady Irwin who, I can assure you, joins with me in wishing that every blessing may rest upon this College.

I was greatly interested in listening to the Hon'ble Mr. Tambe's story of the sound and steady progress by which, from modest beginnings, such great results have been achieved. Particularly was I struck by his account of the part which has been played by private endeavour and by the generosity and support of the people themselves. I hope and believe that this spirit will continue to infuse life and vigour into this institution, and I prize the opportunity of being connected so intimately with this further step in its development.

The importance of Science in modern life, in industries, in agriculture and in every department that affects the public weal, has become a commonplace. Scientific enquiry will take its part—an increasing and vital part—in the great future which lies before this country.

India was slower than many Western countries to recognise this truth and to give science its proper place in her schools and colleges. For this there were obvious reasons. The traditions of education in India have been largely literary and philosophic; the poet and the mystic breathe a different atmosphere from that expressed by

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New College of Science at Nagpur.

test tubes and scientific formulæ. Moreover the careers generally sought by students were the legal profession or clerical and administrative appointments under Government and to these men science made no great appeal. The heavy cost of well-equipped laboratories was another difficulty. But if Science lagged behind in the early march of education, she is advancing with no uncertain stride to-day. The increase in the number of students of science even during the last four or five years has been remarkable, and the annual meetings of the Indian Science Congress have been growing rapidly in size and importance.

I am glad to see that this Province is taking its share in this great advance, and that in doing so it is proceeding on such wise and sound lines. For although the study of science has its own high ideals of exactitude and close reasoning, it has much to receive from, as well as to give to, the students of history, philosophy and literature. It is by the contact of different types of mind, of diverse lines of enquiry, that the spark of true knowledge may be struck. I see that this thought has not been absent from the minds of those responsible for the design of this University. Here will be the cross-roads of learning where science will advance, hand in hand with the humane studies, in the common search of truth. The search is no easy one ; whatever be the road along which man may seek the goal, it is certain often to be rough and difficult. Yet those who steadfastly pursue this quest are able to rejoice in a boundless, and always expanding, liberty. They are pioneers in a country that knows no bounds, not like explorers of the earth's surface where every fresh discovery reduces the range of mystery-lands, but as travellers in a wider universe, the universe of spirit and intellect, where each new conquest

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New College of Science at Nagpur.

widens the horizon of undiscovered knowledge that we scan.

This enclave of University buildings, when it is completed, will be the realisation of a dream which your venerable Vice-Chancellor, Sir Bipin Bose, has dreamed for many years. You are indeed fortunate in having such a benefactor, so old in wisdom, so young in heart and vigour. I trust that he will long retain his youthfulness and be spared to see the full fruition of his labours and ceaseless interest. I have heard with much pleasure the Hon'ble Mr. Tambe's testimony to the devotion of the staff and the keenness of the students of the College of Science. You owe much, I know, to the zeal with which your Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Jones, has fostered the present scheme and to the technical engineering knowledge which Mr. Baker has lavished upon it. Of Mr. Beckett's long and valuable association with the College it is not necessary for me to speak. It has been with untiring faith that he and your acting Principal, Mr. Owen, have served the College and brought it triumphant through anxious times. It is, too, a matter of which the College may well be proud that so many of its present teachers are its former pupils. I trust that of the students who are listening to me to-day many will also be ready in due time, like runners in the ancient race, to hand on the torch to their successors.

Gentlemen, as you watch this stone being laid in its place to-day, I would ask you to remember that the fabric which is to rise from it will stand for the opportunity of bringing precious knowledge to those of your children, and your children's children, who will be attracted within its walls, and that on successive generations will be laid the high duty of keeping its name untarnished and its honour bright.

ADDRESS FROM THE POONA SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITY.

In reply to the address from the Poona Suburban Municipality presented at the Poona Station on the 28th July H. E. the Viceroy said :—

28th July
1926.

Gentlemen,—In thanking you very warmly on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the cordial address of welcome you have extended to us on our arrival in Poona and for the casket in which it is enclosed, I would ask you to believe that I employ no empty words of convention. As the representative of the King-Emperor, I do not tour the different parts of India for the mere purpose of seeing the sights and scenes of interest, natural and historic, in which India is so rich. Rather I come to win some first-hand acquaintance with the problems of daily life as they fall to be met by the man in the street and by the agriculturist in the field, and to appreciate for myself, as far as I may, the conditions in which they live. In a word, as I think of the three hundred million people for whose destinies it is the duty of whoever fills my office to care, I want to picture them not as impersonal units, but as real living beings, each of whom has a personality and individual life of his or her own and with each of whom I have common human interests. The kind words of your welcoming address to-day have struck a personal note which, with these thoughts in my mind, have given me great pleasure. Through you I feel that even at the moment of my arrival I have made contact with the inhabitants of the Municipality which you represent, and this happy introduction leads me to hope that, brief as my stay in your midst will be, I shall leave having gained a little more understanding of your needs and aspirations.

You have spoken with modest brevity of your labours, but you have said enough to show that despite the past achievements of your Municipality you are not content to rest on the laurels which the past has brought. On

Address from the Poona Suburban Municipality.

the contrary your plans for development evince an encouraging spirit of confidence and initiative. There is no enterprise which is more powerful to affect the health and well-being of future generations than town-planning. Unhampered by traditions, interests, and rights vested with the sanctity of time, a scheme can be evolved affording the most favourable conditions for progress and development. Here is an admirable opportunity of achieving the ideal with the material lying still plastic in the hand unhardened by the ignorance, lack of foresight, or the mistakes of yesterday. You mention the palatial residences and magnificent buildings which already exist within your Municipality, and I readily recognise the legitimacy of your pride. But let us not forget that it is only the few who can afford to live in palaces. I feel sure that in your town-planning schemes you have not forgotten that you represent the many as well as the few. Your pride will lie in the effort towards attaining the goal of providing every inhabitant, however humble, within your Municipality with a house, that may be in a real sense a home, and a neighbourhood which may be a fitting object of civic pride. To this end I have no doubt whatever that the Bombay Government will lend every possible assistance. Of this indeed the tribute you have paid to the co-operation of the Government in the past and to the sympathy of your Governor is a sufficient guarantee.

If we are to meet the demands of an awakening social conscience in these matters, it must be by the combined efforts of all who are in a position to help, whether on behalf of Government, local bodies, or merely an individual. Where there is no such mutual support and understanding the work of each is hampered and can never secure its full reward. But where all these different forces may be combined, we release new springs of energy, powerful to overwhelm obstacles which had before seemed

Address from the Muslims of Bombay Presidency.

insuperable. Parochialism is not compatible with progress, and I am happy to know that by the extension of educational facilities, to which you allude, you are taking steps to lay firmly the foundation of local and national life. I wish you all success in these efforts, on which it is no exaggeration to say that the future of India so greatly depends.

It only remains for me to re-affirm the pleasure which has been felt by Lady Irwin and myself in meeting you on our first visit to Poona and to thank you once more for the very kind manner in which you have made us welcome

ADDRESS FROM THE MUSLIMS OF BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

H. E. the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Muslims of the Bombay Presidency at Poona on the 28th July and in reply said :—

28th July
1926.

Gentlemen,—My first duty is to thank you warmly for the friendly welcome you have extended to Lady Irwin and to myself and to express our pleasure at meeting, on our first visit to your city, so many members of your great community. I shall value the casket in which your address has been presented to me. You have there referred to the connection of my family with India and my own personal interest in agriculture. I have indeed, I think, inherited a more than common interest in India, both in its past and present history, and in its absorbing problems of the future. It is true, as you say, that of these problems agriculture is one of the most vital and one which to me makes a peculiar and personal appeal. I spoke only a few days ago at Nagpur of the need of applying to agriculture all the lessons we can learn from science and general education. Primitive methods have

Address from the Muslims of Bombay Presidency.

served their time and must now give way to the discoveries of modern scientists and inventors. I have great hopes that the forthcoming Royal Commission on Agriculture will work out the path along which agricultural development in India must advance, and I can assure you that any help that I can give will be given ungrudgingly.

You have asked me to safeguard the interests of your co-religionists from the evil effects of communal dissensions which unhappily are now so prominent in Indian life. It is hardly necessary for me to speak at great length to-day on this question, as I discussed it fully when addressing the Chelmsford Club at Simla a week or two ago. I am blind to none of the disturbing possibilities which lurk in it, and I am determined, with your help and with the help of the Hindu community, to remove this blot from the fair name of India. Peace and order must be preserved. But I cannot believe that it is beyond the power of the leaders of each community to bring home to their more hot-headed fellows the futility and the peril of these outbursts. Do not think that this means the surrender of any principles that are dear to you, or the denial of a single tenet of your great religion. I ask that of no man. I think that in no quarter, where the facts of the situation are squarely faced, will there be a disposition to deny that many things are done to-day in the name of loyalty to religion, which falsify and betray the fundamental instincts of humanity from which all religion takes its root.

The question of communal representation, about which you have expressed anxiety, is of great complexity. As I have said elsewhere, its only justification is that it should be the means through which every community should feel free to give what it can to the common cause of the service of India. But if this ultimate purpose is obscured, and if communal representation comes to be

Address from the Muslims of Bombay Presidency.

regarded as an end in itself, and thus has the effect of narrowing the horizon of our loyalty, what was designed to promote the cause of unity may quickly become the seed-bed of division.

When different communities have to live together, it is incumbent upon each to recognise that the cause of peace demands a wide measure of mutual toleration and restraint. That which we claim for ourselves we must be ready to accord to our neighbours. This spirit, if it may but grow, will be found to be a better and more lasting solvent of present discords than any artificial methods of representation. *But until we can reach this state, communal representation in some form is likely to be necessary, and it is probable that substantial modification of it must largely depend upon the general consent of all communities.

You have also asked me for an assurance that your community should be fairly represented in the public services. I fully realise that it is to the public advantage that Government service should as far as possible draw recruits from all sections of the people.

There is no question of apportioning a share of posts to the various communities. Any policy of that kind, I am sure, you will realise, would be impracticable. So far as the Central Government is concerned, we have as you are aware taken certain steps which we considered to be reasonable, and the results of which will naturally become more apparent every year.

As regards the services of your own Presidency, I congratulate your community on having provided two out of the three Ministers, and on having obtained already a fair number of appointments in the public services. As you have observed this is a matter of Provincial Administration, and I am sure in these and indeed all matters

Address from the Muslims of Bombay Presidency.

you can safely trust to the fairness and wisdom of His Excellency the Governor and the Government of Bombay.

In some ways it is no doubt true that you have in the past laboured under disadvantages. The growth of education in your community and indeed everywhere must, as has been pointed out in the address, be necessarily gradual. If civilisation hangs closely upon education, it is most assuredly true that education is pre-eminently a question of good teachers. For they alone are able to give that true knowledge which comes not from books or study, but by the formation of character through the free play of mind and personality. Recent years have seen rapid progress among the Musalmans of this Presidency and statistics show that they need no longer fear comparison in this regard with the general mass of the population. See that your education is founded upon right principles, strive to extend the opportunities that it affords to all, and you need have no doubt that in so doing you are giving true service to India, by raising generations of citizens equipped to do her service. Although, as you have observed, education is a subject that has now been transferred to Local Governments, I can assure you that the Government of India are still as deeply interested in it as they have ever been. But the initiative must come from the Provinces and in your own case, though the feet of accomplishment will inevitably move less swiftly than the wings of hope, I feel sure that the Bombay Government has done and will continue to do as much for this cause as their resources will permit.

In conclusion let me repeat with what pleasure I have taken this opportunity of meeting this Moslem Deputation, and of confirming through them the friendly relations that we all desire to see between the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor and those who hold the faith of Islam. The Moslems of India are an important and influential part of that great brotherhood and I know

Opening of the Simla Session of the Indian Legislature.

that I can appeal to you to be worthy of all that is finest in its creed. I will ask three things of you, none of them easy of achievement, but each of them bringing its rich reward,—Be true to your religion, be true to your country, be true to yourselves.

He who fixes eyes on these three guiding points and pursues them steadfastly has surely come very near to the discovery of the secret of life, and to the discharge of the claims that human fellowship makes upon us all.

ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE, AT THE SIMLA SESSION.

His Excellency the Viceroy attended in State the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly on the morning of the 17th August, and addressed the members of both houses of the Indian Legislature as follows :—

17th August
1923.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—It is with much pleasure that I bid you welcome to the labours of another session. Although the full term of the Assembly is not due to expire till January, it is generally convenient that the Elections should be held at the beginning of the cold weather, and the new Assembly brought into being in time for the January Session. Having regard to these considerations, I propose that dissolution should take place next month to be followed by the General Election in November. I recognise that, in these circumstances, it must have been inconvenient to some Hon'ble Members to attend this session. Many of you will have found difficulty in leaving your constituencies at a time which you would naturally wish to devote to electoral activities, and many have had to travel long distances to attend a session which must necessarily be of short duration.

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

I thank Hon'ble Members, therefore, the more for affording me this opportunity of making their acquaintance, and of acknowledging the work they have done during the past sessions of both Houses. Apart from the needs of public business, it was a desire to provide myself with such an opportunity that was largely responsible for my decision to hold this session, for I do not forget that when I next address the Legislature, the ballot-box will have had its say, and though Members of the Council of State are happily at this time exempt from its operation, some of the Members of the Assembly whom I now see before me may have had to bow to its remorseless decree.

I am happy to inform you that the relations of India with the Kingdoms of Nepal and Afghanistan, as with other Powers whose countries adjoin our own, continue to be friendly.

The settlement of the difference between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Turkey about Mosul has removed the outstanding obstacle to a full understanding between the two countries, and has been hailed with satisfaction both by the Muslim community and by general Indian opinion.

In the sphere of Imperial policy, the most pressing of all questions affecting Indians is the position of their fellow-countrymen in South Africa. When Lord Reading last addressed the Council of State, two months before his departure, he referred to the negotiations which were then in progress between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa, and which have had the satisfactory outcome already known to you. That result was due to, and could only have been achieved by, various influences operating in close combination. The steadfast policy of the Government of

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

India was guided by the wise and patient diplomacy of Lord Reading, and assisted by the discreet restraint with which the Indian Legislature awaited the issue of developments which outwardly, at times, gave cause for anxiety and misgiving. The tact and dignity with which the Indian Deputation to South Africa stated the Indian cause drew valued support from the unofficial labours of Mr. Andrews, and, last but not least, I know that the Legislature would wish me to acknowledge the broadminded statesmanship of General Hertzog and his colleagues as expressed in their willingness to submit the Indian question in South Africa to discussion in a friendly conference. As has already been announced, the Conference will meet in December at Cape Town, by which means touch can be maintained with the opinion of Indians resident in South Africa, and the Government of India hope in due course to announce a *personnel* of the Indian Delegation which will satisfy the public that the case of India will be worthily presented. The reception accorded by Indian opinion to the decision to hold such a conference augurs well for its success. At the same time, in order to enable representatives of the various political parties in South Africa to appreciate India's point of view, and to strengthen the better understanding created by the visit of our Deputation to the Union, the Government of India extended, and the Union Government have accepted, an invitation to send a representative deputation to this country. This exchange of visits will, I am confident, do much to give to the peoples of the two countries the real desire to appreciate and appraise one another's difficulties, which is the first step to the discovery of means by which conflicting claims may be brought into harmonious relation. For however strong on every ground we conceive our cause to be, we do no service to it if we deny the existence of, or underrate, the difficulties

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

confronting those who are the responsible spokesmen of South African opinion. Least of all do we assist our purpose if we affect to treat any question such as this, of which the roots lie more deeply bedded in human nature than our philosophy can easily discern, as one susceptible of easy decision by some application of coercive force. Any solution that is to deserve the name, and to stand the test of time, must be based upon mutual accommodation and carry the free assent of both communities.

In October the Imperial Conference will meet to discuss other important questions of general Imperial concern. Every year that passes shows more clearly that the various dominions of the King-Emperor constitute an inter-dependent organism in which no part can exist in lonely isolation. With the expansion of her natural and political resources, we may feel confident that India must take an increasingly important place in the general structure, for she has much both to give to, and receive from, others.

There are several important matters of domestic, financial and industrial concern to which I must especially direct your attention. Our recent rupee loan was a conspicuous success, and we may congratulate ourselves that in the space of two hours we obtained all the money we required on terms which are infinitely better than any we have been able to secure since the outbreak of the great European War. Indeed, they compare very favourably with terms recently obtained for long-term loans by even those Governments whose credit stands highest in the world's money markets. I see no reason to suppose that when we come to replace our remaining short-term liabilities, we shall find any difficulty in obtaining terms as favourable.

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

The Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee is under the careful consideration of Government, and matters are in train for that consultation with the Local Governments which is essential before action can be taken on the Committee's recommendations. In the meantime, in order both to fulfil the promise made to the Legislature and to assist Government in formulating their conclusions, resolutions will be moved this session in both Chambers in such terms as to give Hon'ble Members an opportunity of expressing their views on any portion of the Report in which they may be interested.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance is now in your hands and testifies to the thoroughness with which Mr. Hilton Young and his colleagues have done their work. Whatever judgment may be formed of their conclusions, it will be readily admitted that by the care and knowledge which they have brought to the examination of these matters, they have given us very valuable assistance. As already announced the Government of India have accepted two of the chief recommendations of the Commission, namely, the ratio of the rupee to gold and the method of establishing that ratio during the period which must elapse before the responsibility for the control of the currency can be transferred to a Central Bank.

In view of the acceptance of these recommendations Government felt that there should be no delay in making a clear statement of its policy, and that, as immediate action by Government was necessary, it was their plain duty to bring the matter before the Legislature at the earliest possible date. A Bill will therefore be introduced during this session, and I feel confident that so grave and weighty a subject will be examined not in the light of any local interests but with reference to its ultimate reaction upon the economic and commercial prosperity of the whole country.

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

As Hon'ble Members will be aware, the Tariff Board is now occupied with an important statutory enquiry into the steel industry, and the Bombay Mill-owners' Association recently applied for an early and comprehensive enquiry into the cotton textile industry. The depression in the latter industry has for some time been a matter of grave concern to the Government. In order therefore to avoid delay, Government decided to appoint a second Board, which commenced its investigations at Bombay at the beginning of July. It is hoped that the reports of both these Boards will be submitted within the next three months, in time for consideration at the next Delhi Session.

In addressing the Legislative Assembly at the beginning of this year Lord Reading outlined the object and duties of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which will begin its labours two months hence. The *personnel* of the Commission is now known to you. In its President, Lord Linkithgow, it is fortunate in having a man who combines sound practical experience in farming with a life-long study of its scientific theory. He has as his colleagues a body of men, who by their knowledge of practical agriculture, rural economy, science and engineering, are well fitted to analyse and review the allied questions on which the greater prosperity of the agriculturalist depends.

There is another aspect of the economic development of India to which I may refer. Railway construction, which up to 1914 had made rapid progress, was checked in its stride by the upheaval of the Great War and the years immediately succeeding it. During the last five years the most urgent work has been carried on, not without difficulty, but now, as a result of the improved financial position of railways generally, the Railway Board feel

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

able to consider the adoption of a definite scheme of construction for the next five years. They have devoted particular attention to the development of traffic in rural areas with a view to stimulating agriculture, and by a new adjustment of standards of construction to the conditions of each area they hope, in their present programme, to add 6,000 miles of railway which will be at once remunerative and a boon to the country which they serve.

Another and a more important development of railway policy is also being carried out. The Government of India with the approval of the Secretary of State have accepted the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Public Services that recruitment in India to the Superior Railway Services should gradually be brought up to 75 per cent. of the total number of vacancies in each year. Rules have recently been published which give effect to this policy in all the principal branches of the Superior Railway Service:

In another direction also the further recruitment of Indians has taken definite shape.

In their last session the Legislative Assembly accepted in principle the scheme for the establishment in Indian waters of a training ship for deck officers. The estimates of the cost of the scheme have now been prepared in more detail, and a demand for a grant will be placed before the Assembly at this session to cover the expenditure contemplated during the year.

Hon'ble Members will have observed that, in pursuance of the proposals made by the Lee Commission affecting the Public Services, a Public Service Commission has now been constituted which will commence its work on the 1st October. The orders passed on the Lee Commission Report involve a very marked increase in the

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

Indianisation of the great Public Services and, with this wide extension of Indianisation, it becomes a matter of vital importance to improve our machinery for recruiting Indians. This will be one of the main functions of the Commission. They will also, it is hoped, assure to the Services, in their capacity as an impartial court of reference, protection in the honest performance of their duties from all influences, whether political, personal or communal, which might affect them. It will be within the recollection of Hon'ble Members that the Lee Commission made various suggestions of importance in connection with the delegation of powers of control over the Services. It was recognised that so long as Provincial Governments on the transferred side were not free to organise the Superior Services which administer the subjects committed to their charge, their initiative might be to some extent restricted. The Commission therefore proposed that fresh recruitment to the all-India Services working on the transferred side should cease, and that Local Governments should be entrusted with the power of organising new services on a Provincial basis, which would gradually take over the duties at present performed by these all-India Services, as the latter gradually disappeared through retirement. Recruitment for the all-India Services referred to was stopped as soon as the recommendations of the Lee Commission were accepted, and recently by Resolutions passed by the Secretary of State in Council, power has been given to Local Governments to organise such new Provincial Services as they may require. The organisation will be no easy task, but the Local Governments will be able to follow their own line of policy and to mould their schemes to suit local requirements, and these powers represent an important step in increasing the control of Ministers over Transferred Subjects.

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

Hitherto, I have referred only to the all-India Services serving on the transferred side. The Lee Commission also made recommendations of far-reaching importance with regard to the control of the Central Services, which work directly under the Government of India. With a few exceptions, it has been decided that control over these great Central Services should be delegated by the Secretary of State in Council to the Government of India. The necessary rules are at present under preparation, and I hope that within a few months the delegation will be an accomplished fact. With the completion of this task and the settlement of the problem of the Indian Medical Service, the action on the recommendations of the Lee Commission will practically be complete, and a reorganisation of the Services of a very striking character will have been accomplished.

This action is the administrative counterpart of that taken seven years ago by the British Parliament towards enabling India, through the working of popular institutions, to assume greater responsibility for her own destiny. From the purpose then declared, the British people and the British Parliament have never wavered. By the action that they then took they gave statutory recognition to two governing ideas. They recognised the right of India to move towards self-government, and they recognised the obligation imposed upon the British people acting through Parliament to assist India to make that right a practical reality.

Though on the surface these ideas may seem to conflict, they are in truth complementary. We can no more deny the fundamental duty of Parliament thus to assist India and to judge of the progress made, than we can deny the ultimate claim which India makes, and to the satisfaction of which we work. It is certain that before this claim can be fully realised, many obstacles imposed

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

by history, circumstance and nature will need to be surmounted, and I cannot doubt that the task is one, of which the successful discharge must depend upon a true reconciliation of those rights and responsibilities to which I have made allusion. It would indeed seem certain that when the past achievements of progress have been the happy fruit of joint Indian and British effort, so now in the solution of present difficulties each race has an indispensable part to take. Within the next three years at the most from now the Statutory Commission will be appointed to conduct an investigation on behalf of the British Parliament into the working and the results of the Constitutional Reforms, in their widest aspect. The purpose of this enquiry will be to ascertain the degree of efficiency, or otherwise, with which the policy of 1919 has proceeded. I am well aware that in various quarters the existing scheme has been criticised, and that there has been, and will be, sharp disagreement as to the character and occasion of further progress. I would permit myself however to hope that, if difference there must be, it shall be such difference as will not make us unwilling to admit the sincerity of those whose views on these subjects differ from our own. For my own part, I trust that I shall always be ready to acknowledge in those whose political views I cannot share the same honesty of conviction which I claim for myself and for those whose duty it is to speak for Government. And I should be the last to desire that, in taking their share of a common task for the service of India, any should be required or expected to abandon principles which they revere. For peoples, as for individuals, the qualities which are needed to shoulder responsibilities are qualities which would be strangled by the denial of individuality, and it is no part of the British purpose to seek to force India into a mould unfriendly to the main features of

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

Indian life and character. Events in the interval between now and the Commission's enquiry cannot fail to exert great influence upon the conclusions at which that body will arrive, and in this connexion I cannot refrain from referring to the feeling which still prevails between communities.

This unhappily remains the burning question, and I have anxiously watched for any signs that the responsible members of the two communities are approaching it in that spirit of mutual tolerance which alone can put an end to discord. I am not so sanguine as to think that the temper of whole communities can be changed in a moment; time is required to lay its healing hand on the wound that is now wasting our civic life.

But meanwhile, we have obligations to law-abiding citizens. Although, indeed, these matters are the primary concern of Provincial Governments, the form in which they are now emerging has in a real sense made them of all-India interest. While it is no part of the functions of the executive Government to ascertain or determine in any judicial sense the private rights of citizens—for an elaborate system of courts has been provided for that purpose—it is the undoubted duty of the executive authorities to secure that, subject to the rights of others and the preservation of the public peace, the enjoyment of those rights is secured to the individual. That duty the Government of India in co-operation with the Local Governments desire should be performed with fairness and scrupulous impartiality. In ordinary times when no particular cause of friction arises, the enjoyment of private rights connected with the observance of the numerous religious festivals in this country has, under the protection of the British Government, been secured for many generations. In times of communal tension, untenable claims of rights and exaggerated opposition

Address to the Members of the Indian Legislature, at the Simla Session.

have from time to time caused great anxiety to the authorities, and the maintenance of the public peace has been a difficult task. The antagonism which some members or sections of the communities concerned have recently displayed towards the observances of others appears to some extent to be based, not so much on traditional loyalty to any creed, as on new assertions of abstract rights which it is sought to invest with the sanctity of ancient principles. This tendency has been more marked in the recent troubles than at any previous period in the British administration. It cannot be too clearly emphasised that Government have no intention whatever of allowing any unjust or unreasonable claims, still less any violence or threat of violence, to deter them from their clear duty of maintaining the public peace and, so far as is compatible with the rights of others, the right of the individual citizen to pursue unhampered his lawful avocations.

The present state of affairs is one which must, so long as it lasts, cause the gravest anxiety to all well-wishers of India. The Secretary of State gave clear expression to such a feeling in his recent speech in the House of Lords, a speech which reaffirmed not only his real sympathy with the hopes of the Indian peoples, but also his determination to lead them, by the safest and surest path, towards the goal which they desire to reach.

It is my earnest hope, therefore, that the course of public affairs in the years immediately before us may be such as will justify the hopes of those who have seen in the Reforms, tentative and imperfect as they may be, a generous attempt to equip India with the practical experience which is requisite if she is to undertake successfully an increasing share in her own Government. In the natural sphere, the mountain torrent, swollen with rains, rushing down in spate, wasted and unguided, brings

Address of Welcome from the All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

no benefit but only disaster and destruction. The same waters, if their force may be wisely and beneficently directed, are the friend of man, and powerful to give new life to all that may be brought within their range.

In this parable of Indian life lies surely a truth that is not without its application to the world of Indian politics. Men of different temperaments, creatures of different circumstances, will see the same problem with different eyes, and, so seeing it, are prone to misjudge or be impatient with those whose outlook and perspective differ from their own. One thing, however, is very sure. Human nature is designed to be the master, not the slave of circumstances ; and problems which baffle us when approached through the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust will seem less intractable if that atmosphere may be dispelled. India has abundance of ability, but some of it in the past has been directed along lines that could at the best lead to no useful or durable result.

The attempt to apportion blame for past disappointments, mistakes or misunderstandings is an empty and barren enterprise. We face the future, in which a few years are a puny measure by which to calculate the growth of nations. In that future I do not hesitate to say that the whole of the resources that India can command are needed for one of the greatest constructive tasks which has ever enlisted human energies and hopes.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE ALL-INDIA
CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the All-India Conference of Indian Christians at Viceregal Lodge on 1st September, and in reply said :—

1st September
1926.

Gentlemen,—It has given me great pleasure to meet so many representatives of the Indian Christian community

Address of Welcome from the All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

and to receive the loyal address of welcome which you have been good enough to present. I need hardly assure you of the deep personal interest I take in your community, and I have been glad to hear your account of its growth and of the success with which you have given practical effect to your belief in the value of education. The figures which you have given me of your progress in this respect are very remarkable and are full of encouragement for the future.

I have more than once emphasised how vital is the connection between education and citizenship. The children with whom we have to deal will to-morrow be the citizens of India and the responsibility for their future lies largely in our hands. If we recognise that responsibility we must be impelled to do everything that we can so to mould their characters as to fit them for the great business of life. For the happiness of the world, and the infinite variety of human relationships on which it rests, depend not primarily upon intellectual training or distinction, nor upon business capacity, nor upon any of the particular gifts or qualities which individuals may possess. These things are as it were the clothes which men wear, and while they are to be valued, they are not the most valuable things that men may win. The thing that makes or mars a man, and that makes the vital difference between strength and weakness in his life, and the life of his world about him is character. I am sure therefore that I shall carry your warm assent when I say that this is the true purpose of education and that we constantly need to bring all our educational effort to this unfaltering touchstone.

You have referred in your address to some of the problems which confront your community. I have dealt in recent speeches with the question of communal representation both in the Legislature and in public

Address of Welcome from the All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

services and I can add little to what I have already said. As regards the Legislature, you are right in saying that this is not the time to make definite proposals for any change, but I can assure you that no such proposals involving alteration of the present system will be made without full consideration of the just claims of the Indian Christian and every other community.

As regards the representation of communities in the public services, I think you have slightly misunderstood the intention of Government. As I pointed out to a deputation the other day, it is impossible to fix a definite share of posts to be given to any particular section of the people. The most we can do is to watch for, and, if possible, rectify any marked preponderance of particular communities in the *personnel* of the public services. But this does not mean that we fail to share and appreciate your desire that merit should always be the condition of appointment to, and promotion in, service under Government. For I am in warm agreement with you as to the importance of maintaining a high standard for the public service.

We live in a time when the social conscience is daily becoming more alive to the clamant needs of modern life. In such circumstances, I cannot doubt that the standard exacted for this service will be to an increasing degree decisive as between the success or failure of whatever efforts Government may be able to make to serve this common weal.

If it were possible to meet your desire for fuller enlistment in His Majesty's Indian Army, I should be happy to give effect to the wishes you have expressed, but I fear that both on financial and administrative grounds, I can offer you no immediate prospect of doing so. As you are probably aware the Indian Army has

Address of Welcome from the All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

had to be reduced for reasons of economy to dimensions considerably smaller than those existing before the great European war. It would moreover be very difficult to fit Indian Christian units into the group regimental system into which the Indian Infantry has recently been reorganised. It must, I know, be specially disappointing to Punjabi Christians to feel that the services which they rendered during the war and which are well-known to us all cannot be rewarded by further opportunities of military duty. But other classes and communities with longer military traditions have also been forced to face the same disappointment and I fear that at present it is impossible to do more than to enlist a complete company of Punjabi Christians in the 11th Battalion of the 15th Punjab Regiment in the Indian Territorial Force. In addition to this, recruitment as fighting soldiers is still open to Indian Christians of Madras in Battalions enlisting Madrassi Christians. I will only add that, although the number of your soldiers may be small, I am confident that when the call comes to them, they will serve their country in that spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which they have always shown and which their faith and their traditions require.

In the concluding passage of your address, Gentlemen, you express what you conceive to be the obligation that rests upon anyone called as Viceroy to work in India.

I accept your definition of these responsibilities and I can conceive of no more honourable privilege than to work for the removal of mistrust, the steadfast pursuit of justice in all its aspects, and the elevation of the weak.

But I venture to think that this privilege is one which I share with all who love India, and I therefore welcome the assurance that in seeking to achieve these ends, I can count upon your loyal co-operation and support.

DURBAR AT LAHORE.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Lady Irwin, accompanied by their Staff, left Simla on the 17th October on a tour to Lahore, the North-West Frontier Province and Bahawalpur.

8th October
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy held a Durbar at Lahore on the forenoon of the 18th October, at which he delivered the following speech :—

Sardars and Gentlemen of the Punjab,—It is hardly necessary for me to say what great pleasure it has given me to hold a Durbar in this historic city, and to meet so many representative men of the Punjab during the first year of my Viceroyalty. In these days, when so many things are changing before our eyes, old-fashioned institutions such as Durbars are apt to fade into oblivion and disuse. Yet to my mind the purpose and value of a public Durbar such as this remain. It gives loyal subjects the chance openly to show their loyalty to the King-Emperor, and it enables me as his representative to meet them and publicly to commend those who stood by Government during the anxious years of war and through the subsequent troubles from which this Province is now emerging. I can assure them all that their loyalty and devotion to the Crown are not forgotten. When I look on this great gathering of men from all parts of the Province—men who trace their ancestry to names famous in Indian history for the arts of peace and war—my mind inevitably goes back to similar scenes which have taken place in past centuries in Lahore—some in this very fort, some even in this very audience hall. In no fitter place I think than in this audience chamber of the Emperor Akbar, could the Chiefs and leading men of this great fighting Province meet to welcome the representative of the King-Emperor.

Nearly ten years have passed since a Viceroy held a Durbar in this town. Those ten years have seen changes destined perhaps to be more far reaching in their effects

Dunbar at Lahore.

than any of the old struggles and invasions which ebbed and flowed over the Punjab in days gone by. A new dynasty has arisen, the dynasty of the people themselves. New powers and new responsibilities are in your hands, and I am confident that you, whom I address to-day, will assist your Province to use those powers and responsibilities with wisdom. Critics of this new development there have been plenty, but I am glad to think that the Punjab has proved that, if handled in the spirit of constructive effort and good-will, this form of Government can be at once the instrument of valuable training in the business of administration, and the means of securing improvement in those matters, on which the lives of the great mass of the people principally depend. The harmonious working of the Reforms in this Province is, I make no doubt, due largely to the qualities of shrewdness and common-sense which have distinguished the representatives whom the people of the Punjab have sent to their Legislative Council, and to the degree to which Ministers have recognised the importance of directing the attention of their supporters to practical problems which await solution. I have been glad to hear of how popular interest in all branches of the administration has been quickened, especially in what are known as the "beneficent departments" such as Agriculture, Education and Public Health. It is that growth of an informed and practical interest in these vital matters that is likely, in India as elsewhere, to afford the surest foundation for effective political advance. I feel sure, Gentlemen, that in the Punjab we shall not look for it in vain.

The times which saw the inauguration of these constitutional changes were difficult. As we look back across the last few years, we cannot fail to be struck by the contrast that they have presented with the period of repose, of which an exhausted world dreamed and for

Durbar at Lahore.

which it craved as it passed through the furnace of four years of war. For, like nearly every other civilised country, India felt the influence of that spirit of fretful unrest which followed on the heels of war, and in this Province a combination of untoward circumstances—political and economic—contributed to a troublous period, in which for a time crime rose above its normal level. Those days are past and I fervently hope that, during my Viceroyalty and for many years to come, the stream of administration will flow smoothly on. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the essential parts of the machinery set up by the Gurdwaras Act last summer are now in working order, and that statutory provision has been made for the management of Sikh religious institutions. I am pleased to be able to announce that the restrictions on Sikh recruiting for the Indian Army from certain villages are being steadily relaxed, and that in the happier atmosphere which now prevails there is every prospect of their being entirely removed within a few months. I sincerely hope therefore that the troubles which have till recently disturbed the great Sikh community, a community with such high traditions of bravery in the field and of loyalty to the British Crown, are about to give way to an era of orderly progress and prosperity. You know, even better than I, how much of the credit for this happier state of affairs, as indeed for much else in your Province, is due to your distinguished Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey.

Speaking of the Punjab in general I am glad to say that the last year or two have been years of peace and swift development. The colonisation of vast areas of Crown lands, which have been brought under irrigation, has not only given relief to congested districts, but has promoted a more equitable distribution of agricultural wealth. The great Nili Bar Colony Project now approaching completion will add nearly a million acres in British

Durbar at Lahore.

India to the canal irrigated area. Railway expansion is proceeding rapidly, and during the present year no less than six projects have been sanctioned. Special attention is also being paid to the development of road communication, which should bring great benefit to the more backward areas. The great Hydro Electric Project which has just been started is likely profoundly to influence the industrial development of the Province, and will give greater opportunities to those qualities of initiative and pertinacity for which the Punjab is famous. But you have not only moved forward along lines of material progress. The Province has in the last six years seen an advance in education which is unexampled in its previous history. In the field of co-operative credit and banking where unity brings new strength to those, who alone are unable to command resources adequate to ensure economic freedom, it is reaching a foremost position in India. Its improving finances have not only permitted some reduction of the taxation imposed in time of exceptional stress, but have enabled Ministers to make an effective start in liberally conceived programmes of medical relief, and in the expansion of its Health and Agricultural Departments.

I was much concerned, on my arrival in India, to learn that your Province was suffering from an unusually violent attack of plague. Thanks to the successful working of the new Public Health organisation and the intensive campaign of preventive measures in which the people so readily co-operated, the chief danger is now past. I wish however to express my sympathy with those who suffered by this epidemic, and my hope that you will not be called upon to face such a serious visitation of this scourge again for many years.

Agriculture is, as you know, a matter of particular and personal concern to me, and I therefore take a special interest in the Punjab and in its rural population. I was

Durbar at Lahore.

deeply disappointed in April that I was unable to visit Suleimanke and perform the opening ceremony of the headworks there. I should have liked to feel that I had had some direct part in one of those magnificent schemes of irrigation which have made the Punjab canals one of the wonders of the world. By these triumphs of engineering skill you are enabled to reap one of the almost unique advantages with which the Punjab has been endowed. To much of your Province Nature has surely dispensed her gifts with generous hand. You have nature's own reservoir of water in the snow and ice of your great mountain ranges. You have level plains with soil of natural richness ; you have great heat which, though it may at times sorely try the human frame and the human temper, stimulates those chemical and physical changes in the soil which are essential to plant life. Your land unaided is able therefore to yield you crop after crop which under similar conditions in England and many other countries would be impossible. It may be that, in spite of all that science has taught us in recent years there are still land-owners in the Punjab who take these natural gifts as a matter of course and are slow to enquire how far human endeavour may be able to enhance the value of nature's gifts. Some may be tempted to say " what I have is good enough ". But, Gentlemen, nothing is good enough if it can be made a little better.

The farmer is, of course, by nature a conservative. It is right that he should be so. He has inherited precious knowledge from those who have tilled the soil before him ; and we do wrong if we hold the accumulated wisdom of our predecessors as of light account. The farmer knows, too, the danger of a single failure ; the danger to himself, to his family, to his cattle and other stock. The small man, therefore, who is constantly depending on fine margins and who is bound above all to tread the path of safety, will be naturally and rightly reluctant to embark on new lines in

Durbar at Lahore.

his farming operations. But it is the duty of those, who by position and circumstance are the natural leaders of agricultural enterprise, to be the pioneers of improvement, by experiment, by co-operation, by demonstration, and by using their local influence to encourage their humbler neighbours to translate into working practice the approved discoveries of scientific study. A spirit of enquiry is already abroad, but I think that there may still be room for a greater spirit of adventure, and a more determined ambition to leave your land to your sons a little better than you found it. I was astonished to learn recently a fact which I have no doubt is well-known to many of you, that from a single cotton plant given out for cultivation 18 years ago as the result of scientific selection at the Lyallpur Farm, no less than 960,000 acres have now been planted. That one fact alone is to me ample proof of the almost romantic results that may be attained by the application of scientific enquiry and analysis to agricultural problems, and I am confident that the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which has just started on its labours, will show us the way to further progress in many matters closely affecting the prosperity of our agricultural community.

In dwelling on the great possibilities of development in the canal colonies I have not forgotten those parts of the Punjab which are not blessed with the same bounties of nature, and which I fear can never hope to come under canal irrigation. My interest is not less direct in those less fortunate areas, which trust for their prosperity to precarious rains. I shall always be glad to learn of any well-devised schemes such as the improvement of lift irrigation, or any other, which will help to secure those who live in these tracts from the calamities arising from nature's waywardness.

It affords me especial pleasure to see many here to-day who have served and are still serving in those regiments

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chiefs' Association.

which have made the Punjab famous throughout the world as a nursery of fighting men. You of the Punjab have always been a race of soldiers. Fate has placed your lands on the high road from the hungry uplands of the North to the rich plains of Hindustan, and your five rivers have often run red with the blood of your ancestors and of the invaders they struggled to repel. British arms too have in the past had full test of the fighting powers of the Punjab, but fair battle leaves no bitterness behind, and I believe that we understand each other all the better to-day for our struggles in the past. Who indeed could think otherwise, who turns his thoughts back to 12 years ago and calls to mind that wonderful climax to the epic of Punjab chivalry which no Briton worthy of the name will ever forget—the response which all India, but above all the Punjab, made to the Imperial call to arms in the Great War. There are many of you here to-day who offered lives and property in the service of the King-Emperor and there must be few who did not suffer the loss of a son or a brother or a friend. I feel proud to be able to add my meed of homage to those who made the supreme sacrifice in those stern days, and to acknowledge once again the splendid service which all classes in the Punjab rendered to the British Empire. The same spirit of loyalty has summoned this distinguished company to assemble here to-day. I on my part have welcomed the opportunity of meeting those who are the worthy representatives of honourable tradition, and on whose fidelity and public spirit the prosperity of the Punjab must constantly depend.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE PUNJAB CHIEFS'
ASSOCIATION.

In the afternoon H. E. the Viceroy received an Address of 18th October
16PSV 1926

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chiefs' Association.

Welcome from the Punjab Chiefs' Association at Lahore, to which he replied as follows :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Punjab Chiefs' Association,—Among the many pleasant duties which I have performed on this first day of my visit to the Capital of the Punjab, I am grateful for this opportunity of meeting representatives of the Punjab Chiefs' Association and listening to your cordial words of welcome. I thank you on behalf of Lady Irwin, as well as myself, for this address, and assure you that we sincerely appreciate the warm expression of your goodwill. When, greatly to my disappointment, I was forced to cancel my visit to Lahore in April, I made up my mind to carry out my original intention at the earliest possible moment and I am glad to be able to achieve my desire so soon. It is particularly appropriate that I should receive this address here, as I am told that most of you are old boys of the Aitchison College. I have heard much of the traditions of your College and of the atmosphere in which you received the training that was to fit you to face the problems of life, and I feel sure that an Association, which is based on such a sure foundation, is likely to have advantages of unity and tradition which few similar organisations may possess.

I realise that the members of your Association are occupied in spheres of diverse interests, but to-day you represent a body which is well known for its loyalty to the Crown and to the best interests of the Province. The responsibilities of the aristocracy of the Punjab have quickened and grown with the march of India along the road to self-government. New rights bring new duties, and their discharge will depend especially upon the response of those on whom circumstances have bestowed opportunity or imposed obligations. I have no doubt that your Association, having regard to the influence which

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chiefs' Association.

it commands, is fully alive to the necessity of employing that influence in the furtherance of whatever may promote the civic well-being of the Province. If you keep this guiding purpose constantly in view, your Association cannot fail to provide a valuable organ of opinion to which not only the Government, but other bodies interested in the welfare of the people, may listen with respect and profit. As a body, too, you will learn useful lessons from those of your members who are brought into contact with current affairs, and who realise that, to achieve its object, an organisation like yours cannot exist in isolation, but must take its appropriate place in the wider movements of public life.

I have heard with pleasure your expression of gratitude for the grant of land which was given by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the leading families of the Province. They have indeed deserved well of Government. Although the Great War is now fading from the memory of the present generation, I cannot refrain from mentioning the great services rendered to India and the Empire by your members at that time. The contributions in men, money and personal service made by the leading noblemen in India during the war were common knowledge even to those who had no immediate connection with Indian affairs. Since my arrival in India I have had an opportunity of appreciating more fully the extent of those services, especially those rendered by the Punjab, and their reading has made a deep impression on me. You may be sure that this spirit of loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor will be remembered long after the din and clash of the great struggle have passed into history.

You have urged me in your address to consider the claims of the Punjab aristocracy to be selected by nomination rather than by examination for posts of responsibility

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chiefs' Association.

and distinction in the public service. I readily acknowledge that there are many qualities not less important than book learning which are required to fit a man for the service of his country. Character, courage, sympathy are not the prerogative of the student ; and, while I fear that there are reasons which make it impossible to eliminate the examination system, you may feel certain that I shall always bear in mind the desire of the Punjab aristocracy to maintain their honourable traditions by direct service of the Crown.

I am much gratified to hear that you appreciate the necessity of applying all the resources of science to the development of agriculture on which the prosperity of this Province is based, and I am in full sympathy with your desire to increase the number of demonstration farms in the Punjab. I shall readily support any scheme in this direction which the Local Government considers feasible, and I am certain that in all proposals that make for the welfare of the people of the Punjab you can count upon the ready sympathy and goodwill of your Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey.

In the course of the next few days I propose to take the opportunity of seeing for myself something of the every-day life in the villages of your Province, and I hope I may be able to visit estates belonging to some of you, and learn on the spot the problems and occupations of the Indian country gentleman. Far removed from the bustle of the cities, your responsibilities in remoter districts are great. Your tenants are more dependent upon your will, and look the more keenly for guidance and support. On your conduct of affairs and your handling of the business of every-day life depends in great degree the happiness and prosperity of the countryside. This position of responsibility the Government have been anxious to preserve, and the maintenance of the dignity

Address to the Boy Scouts at Lahore.

of the ancient families has been our traditional policy. Your response to this trust has not been, and I am convinced never will be, found wanting. In removing obstacles and surmounting difficulties in the path of progress, I feel that Government can with confidence count on your Association co-operating whole-heartedly with the administration for the welfare of the people of the Punjab.

ADDRESS TO THE BOY SCOUTS AT LAHORE.

The Boy Scouts of Lahore held a Rally on the morning of ^{20th October} the 20th October in honour of H. E. the Viceroy's visit to ^{1926.} Lahore, at the termination of which H. E. addressed the Scouts as follows :—

As Chief Scout for India I am proud to see a rally like this to-day and I am happy to think that, great as it has been, there are thousands like you, in other parts of the Punjab, imbued with the same keen spirit who are not able to be here. I was deeply sorry to learn the reason of the absence of one of your brother Scouts, Ran Rakha, who was seriously injured by the bomb on Saturday. I am glad to hear that he is now progressing as favourably as we can expect.

The Punjab has good reason to feel proud of being foremost from all India in the Scouting field. Twenty years ago the word ' Boy Scout ' was unknown in India. Even a few years ago, the numbers were less than half what they are now. I look forward to the day when the first wish of every boy in India will be to become a Boy Scout.

You boys know, I expect, what a much finer place the world seems to you since you started Scouting. You have found, as Stevenson said, that—

“ The world is so full of a number of things

I am sure we should all be as happy as Kings.”

Addresses of Welcome from the Lahore Municipal Committee, Lahore District Board, Punjab Co-Operative Union, District Soldiers' Board and Northern India Chamber of Commerce.

You have found too that your school work, which you probably sometimes thought tedious and uninteresting, suddenly begins to have a meaning in your life. You have found, I daresay, that discipline is not really irksome ; that in receiving an order from your Scout Master, your chief feeling is one of pride that you belong to such a fine corps. You have found too, I hope, that hard work is really the best fun in the world.

That is what Scouting has given you. What are you going to give in return ? Will you allow me, your Chief Scout, to suggest what your answer should be ? It is this. That you should make up your minds to give all that is best in you, all that you have learnt as Boy Scouts, of comradeship, self-sacrifice, truthfulness, in the service of your country and your fellow-men. For they want all the service that you can give them, and as you give it you will be astonished at the extent to which you have found the real secret of happiness for your own lives.

Good-bye : I am very glad to have had the chance of seeing you, and I wish you all the best of luck.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME FROM THE LAHORE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE, LAHORE DISTRICT BOARD, PUNJAB CO-OPERATIVE UNION, DISTRICT SOLDIERS' BOARD AND NORTHERN INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

20th October
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy received Addresses of Welcome from the above bodies at Lahore on the 20th October, and made the following joint reply :—

Gentlemen,—As the same kindly purpose animates all the deputations which have just presented me with addresses, let me first on my own behalf and on behalf of

*Addresses of Welcome from the Lahore Municipal Committee,
Lahore District Board, Punjab Co-Operative Union, District
Soldiers' Board and Northern India Chamber of Commerce.*

Lady Irwin thank you all most cordially for your warm welcome and good wishes. We both greatly appreciate the friendly feelings you have expressed towards us on this occasion of our first visit to the Capital of the Punjab. But for my unfortunate indisposition which disarranged my plans in April we should have had the pleasure of meeting you here some months ago.

The members of the Lahore Municipal Committee have expressed in their address a commendable pride in being the wardens of the civic interests of this city, the annals of which date back to those ancient days when the dawn of history is veiled in the mists of legend. It must afford them no mean satisfaction to feel that Lahore city of to-day, the busy capital of one of the important Provinces of British India, beautified and improved by their care, has in no way lost its ancient renown, but indeed has conspicuously added to its lustre.

Few spheres of public life offer a wider field for service than municipal administration. On those charged with its responsibilities devolves the high function of promoting the care of the health, education, moral and material welfare of those poorer and humbler elements of the urban population whose conditions of life militate against their own capacity to help themselves. From the references to various activities in their address I am gratified to note that the members of the Lahore Municipal Committee are fully conscious of these weighty obligations and are eager to discharge them. They may feel certain of my best wishes for the success of their work, reacting as it does so directly upon the well-being of the inhabitants of the city.

Lady Irwin and I shall retain a most pleasant impression of the beauties and amenities of Lahore and of the

Addresses of Welcome from the Lahore Municipal Committee, Lahore District Board, Punjab Co-Operative Union, District Soldiers' Board and Northern India Chamber of Commerce.

warmth of our welcome to it. We shall leave Lahore with new interests and sympathies aroused, and with some insight, I hope, into the great work which municipal organisations are striving to carry out in the cities of India for the improvement of social conditions among the masses.

It is of great interest to us also to have met to-day the members of the Lahore District Board who are responsible over a wide area for the provision of requirements essential to the welfare and prosperity of the rural classes. From my own experience I know how vital to farming those activities are, to the exercise of which the members of the District Board are devoting their attention. It is unnecessary for me to dwell on the need for public health measures and education ; but as a countryman I may confidently state that the farmer will bless the Lahore District Board if it gives him good roads to take his produce to market ; and I know that in his own line of business the farmer warmly welcomes that interest and stimulus which the Board is giving him by the provision of veterinary dispensaries, of sires and bulls for the improvement of horse and cattle stocks, and agricultural demonstration farms.

I congratulate the members of the Board on their initiative in these directions ; and I am confident that their progressive policy will always command the ready support it merits. I have no doubt that the Royal Commission on Agriculture will devote particular attention to this aspect of rural development. I shall take an early opportunity by personal inspection of studying life and conditions in the villages at first hand ; and I hope thus to obtain a foundation for fuller understanding of those questions, which are in a special sense the concern of the District Boards.

Addresses of Welcome from the Lahore Municipal Committee, Lahore District Board, Punjab Co-Operative Union, District Soldiers' Board and Northern India Chamber of Commerce.

The greetings which the Punjab Co-operative Union have extended to me are particularly acceptable to me. It is a pleasure to me to meet the representatives of this important body, which is directly concerned with the policy of the co-operative movement in this Province. When the various aspects of the development of India are passed in review, attention is at once arrested by the progress which this great movement has achieved within the short period of 20 years. The steady growth of public confidence in its potentialities may, in my view, rightly rank among the happiest auguries for the future progress of India. Real progress can only be achieved when there is, as here, an impulse for self-improvement among the people generally. National unity and solidarity cannot be created by artificial action ; but these qualities will grow and flourish in a soil where the people have learned for themselves in other ways the practice of mutual trust and combination. Co-operation spells the encouragement of thrift which is an essential foundation for a nation's economic welfare.

Time will not permit me to-day to enlarge on the very great interest with which I regard the remarkable expansion and wide scope of co-operative work in the Punjab. I observe that the movement was originally introduced with the object of providing capital for agriculture—a function which it continues to perform with marked success. Last year I find that the Punjab Societies are estimated to have provided at least one-eighth of the total credit required by the agricultural operations of the year for the whole of the Punjab. The movement has now extended into many activities undreamed of by its pioneers. I wish I had time to dwell on its many manifestations—the societies for cattle and

Addresses of Welcome from the Lahore Municipal Committee, Lahore District Board, Punjab Co-Operative Union, District Soldiers' Board and Northern India Chamber of Commerce.

sheep-breeding, for the sale and supply of agricultural products, for the consolidation of holdings, for better living and social reform, for better farming, for thrift in the rural areas and for the promotion of the interests of artisans and craftsmen in towns. The principles of the movement in a hundred ways are now enshrined in the hearts of the people and have become part of the life of the Province. I congratulate the Union on the selection of Mr. Calvert, who has had so intimate a connection with the building up of co-operation in the Punjab, to serve as a Member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. It is a tribute to the Punjab's achievements in rural economics.

Lady Irwin and I greatly prize the kind greetings of the members of the District Soldiers' Board. Indeed my first visit to the martial Province would have been incomplete if I had not had an opportunity of meeting representatives of a class that may claim with pride to be the backbone of the Indian Army, and to have established its reputation for loyalty and prowess in many lands. It is right and proper that those who in time of war have been associated in the unity of discipline, traditions and comradeship, should hold together in times of peace also, after their arms have been laid aside.

I am glad to learn that, in addition to considerable grants of land made to ex-soldiers among the general body of colonists in the Punjab colonies, over three lakhs of acres have already been given in grants to ex-soldiers as such and that 75,000 acres have now also been reserved in the Nili Bar Colony for future distribution to ex-soldiers. The desire for employment among ex-service men will, I am sure, be carefully borne in mind by your Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, and the Punjab Government.

Addresses of Welcome from the Lahore Municipal Committee, Lahore District Board, Punjab Co-Operative Union, District Soldiers' Board and Northern India Chamber of Commerce.

I greatly value the expressions of loyalty to His Majesty and of a desire to support law and order, which you have included in your address. I recognise the value to the community of the *ex*-soldier with his traditions of discipline and service, and I am confident that his interests and concerns will always command the consideration and solicitude of the Government.

Lady Irwin and I are most grateful to the members of the Chamber of Commerce for an interesting address which completes the picture you have shown us to-day of varied local activities.

No one will follow more anxiously than I the work of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. From such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce the Commission will be able to receive advice on many difficult problems in the Punjab and elsewhere, and I have no doubt that the question of grain elevators will be carefully examined by this body of experts.

I have already seen enough during my visit to appreciate the pride you take in the canals and communications of your Province. I am glad to hear that the Government are fully alive to the value of road communications and are taking steps to ensure that the most important roads will be properly maintained by a single central authority. It is not possible for me to forecast the future incidence of taxation, but you may be satisfied that due care will always be given to the proper adjustment of the burden involved in maintaining essential services.

The general questions of banking raised in the valuable reports of the External Capital Committee and of the Royal Currency Commission are now being considered by the Government of India. I have no doubt that the

Punjab Legislative Council Dinner.

outcome of these considerations will be a general improvement in, and extension of, the system of banking on the lines indicated in the Chamber's address. Meanwhile I see that the local Ministry of Education are wisely giving full attention to the development of practical education, and to this end have informed the Punjab University that the Government is prepared to assist in the institution of a College of Commerce by a capital and recurring grant.

I trust, Gentlemen, that your Chamber has a long and prosperous career before it and will always stand for those high principles of commerce and trading which it should be its principal purpose to promote.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your warm welcome. It has been a great pleasure to us to have this opportunity of making the acquaintance of those who in various directions take a prominent part in the activities of public life in this Province.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DINNER.

21st October
1926.

The Members of the Punjab Legislative Council entertained H. E. the Viceroy at a Dinner at Lahore on the 21st October. In reply to the Toast H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Your Excellency, Mr. President and Members of the Punjab Legislative Council,—I must thank you all in the first place for your kindness in inviting me here to-night. I accepted your invitation with alacrity as I was most anxious to make a closer acquaintance with you than I have hitherto had the chance of doing, and there is no better way of making friends than over a good dinner. I am also most grateful to you, Mr. President, for proposing my health in such cordial terms, and to you all, gentlemen,

Punjab Legislative Council Dinner.

for the warm welcome you have given me. In my speech at the Durbar three days ago, I spoke of the harmonious working of the Reforms in this Province and attributed it largely to the wisdom and common-sense of the members of the Legislative Council, greatly assisted, I have no doubt, by the friendly advice on which you can always count at the hands of Sir Malcolm Hailey. In this more intimate atmosphere I wish to repeat how pleased I have been to observe the sense of responsibility which the representatives of the Punjab have shown. This is greatly to your credit. For you have not been brought up, as most of us Englishmen have been brought up from youth, as members of a definite political party, with long traditions of party allegiance behind us. Some of us—I mention no names—no doubt transfer our favours from one party to another as advancing years bring wisdom—or the reverse. But at any rate you may say we are born and bred on the Party system. So you will not, I hope, think that I am taking an unfair advantage of my position as your guest to-night if I say a word or two about Party politics in general.

There is much to be said for and against the party system. But when everything has been said that can be said against it, it remains the only means of marshalling the forces, pooling the energies of a country and getting things done. It is happily or unhappily true that very few individuals ever find themselves in complete agreement, and therefore any party involves each man giving up a little of his own aims and desires and receiving in return the support and collaboration of his fellow-members.

Our political parties in England are more or less cut and dried. I have searched for a suitable epithet for the present state of parties in India, but am not sure that I have yet found the right word. Meteoric, perhaps. In the short time that I have been in India I have watched

Punjab Legislative Council Dinner.

parties appear like a meteor from the wide heavens. no one knows exactly how the constituent parts were fused together into this dazzling vision ; it flashes across the political sky and, as we watch, it splits again into scattering particles.

But all this will change. It has been said that "party divisions, whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free Government." In the distribution of parties, each party has its distinct function to perform. The primary duty of the party charged with administration is to pass legislation and conduct business. The primary duty of an opposition is to be stern critics of all legislation and all business. The superficial observer is tempted to say that this system, in which one set of intelligent men devote all their powers to obstructing what another set of men not less intelligent seek to do, must spell gross waste of time and waste of effort. But this criticism I believe to be superficial. No single party possesses a monopoly of wisdom, and it is through debate and criticism that minority parties are able to ensure for their point of view its due weight and influence. In a nation where party Government is well understood, parties will realise that they will forfeit popular sympathy if they pursue their party differences to the point where these prejudice the national interest, and they will accordingly be prepared, when grave matters affecting the life of the nation are in issue, to suspend their party wrangles and present a united front to the common danger.

These and other party traditions will grow in India, as they have in all countries with a Parliamentary system. It is worth while, therefore, considering some of the general principles which very closely affect the life of any party worthy of the name. Let us begin by asking what politics really are. I suggest that they are in essence nothing but

Punjab Legislative Council Dinner.

the science of dealing with human beings. It is natural therefore, that there should be a close relation between sound principles in politics and the dominant instincts of the human mind. I give you three instincts which seem to me to be fundamental to human thought and action. The instinct of comradeship, the instinct of independence, and the instinct of reverence. May I tell you what these three instincts seem to me to imply? Take comradeship. There have been discussions through the ages by political philosophers of the relation between the individual and the State, but I think that the deeper our analysis goes, the more clearly we see that each is so bound up with the other that they are inseparable, even in thought. I sometimes think of Social Man as the centre of a widening series of concentric circles—man the centre, surrounded by the ties of family, outside his family his village or his town, that again encircled by his province, then his country, then the Empire. And surrounding all is the wider circle of Mankind—a League of all Nations. And when you have built up this picture, described these circles, you find you have a homogeneous organism in which each circle plays its indispensable part; remove one circle and there is a gap somewhere which weakens the whole. If an individual seeks to disregard the loyalty he owes to the wider circles, his personality becomes cramped, distorted, and a travesty of what it was designed to be. If a Nation, as, for example, Prussia before the War, seeks to elevate the single loyalty of nationalism to a plane that denies the just rights of individuals or of other nations, it mistakes its path and ends by becoming either an encumbrance or a danger to the world. A far different thing is the true comradeship of the body politic that can weld together all interests, classes and creeds—let me echo your hope, Mr. President, that it can unite Hindu and Muhammadan—and that extends this conception through nations to a wise and sane appreciation of international relations.

Punjab Legislative Council Dinner.

Then what of independence? In our private lives it gives us self-respect, thrift, pride in the upbringing of our families, freedom of thought. In politics it is the basis of true nationalism, the conviction that our fellow countrymen have something of value to give to the world and the desire to enable them to give it. You may be sure that I have, as you have said, Mr. President, a whole-hearted sympathy with such aspirations. Independence is not the contradiction of discipline. You, in public life, as representatives of constituencies, are bound to serve the interests of those you represent, but you can and should still maintain your independence of thought. You may remember what a great English politician has said "It is the duty of the representative to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions to those of his constituents, and, above all, ever and in all cases to prefer their interests to his own; but his unbiassed opinion, his matured judgment, his enlightened conscience he ought not to sacrifice to any man or to any set of men living. They are a trust from Providence for which he is answerable. Your representative owes you not his industry only but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion." A fine creed, which I think might well be printed on the back of any polling paper.

Lastly, what of reverence? All men, some perhaps half consciously, accept some unseen Power working in human life greater than man himself. We all acknowledge, though we may not always observe, the distinction between right and wrong. There is no one who does not in his heart respect justice or a noble character. How does this instinct apply to politics? We feel reverence for the State, for civil authority, for old institutions; we certainly reverence great men. And reverence for tradition is a great safeguard in politics; it reminds us that the history of a nation is an organic whole, that the present

Punjab Legislative Council Dinner.

is the offspring of the past, and that what we ourselves are we owe to the efforts, the achievements and the failures of those who went before us. For myself, as you have so gracefully remarked, Mr. President, I have the tradition of my grand-father behind me, and it gives me peculiar pleasure and interest to think that I may be adding a stone here and there to the structure he helped to build. It is by such recollections as these that we are reminded that as we are the heirs of preceding generations, so we are the architects of posterity, and a salutary check is placed upon those who would destroy in the mere hope of being able to rebuild something from the debris.

These principles, I think, belong to the eternal order of things, and no Government, no party and no community can prosper which ignores them. From everything that I have seen and heard of the Punjab, I believe that these principles are powerful in the moulding of your thought. It is in the light of those principles that the Punjab Legislative Council has rendered such valuable assistance to Government and has played such a large part in the progress of the last few years. As common citizens of the Punjab you have a keen sense of the reality of comradeship. Pride in the Punjab is the natural parent of virile independence, and with this honourable independence you have learnt to reconcile respect for persons, institutions and things that, by tradition or authority, are entitled to receive honour at your hands.

If I am right in this, I venture to say that you have discovered the real secret of social life and progress, and I cannot doubt that, so long as you conduct your public affairs in this spirit, you will bring great benefit to the Province which it is your privilege to serve.

PESHAWAR MUNICIPALITY ADDRESS.

25th October
1926.

In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Peshawar Municipality at Peshawar on the morning of the 25th October H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for the welcome you have accorded to Lady Irwin and myself on our arrival in Peshawar and we thank you, and through you the Municipality which you represent, for the cordial address to which we have just listened. I am very glad to renew the acquaintance which I made some years ago, as an ordinary traveller, with this frontier town. The name of Peshawar has for everyone a glamour which few cities in India possess. It recalls so many incidents of romantic interest, so many names of soldiers and administrators who have helped to make its history. The position too of Peshawar at the very gates of India stirs the imagination and adds to the picturesqueness of its bazars. Here you may see the motley crowd of many races thronging its streets, the newly arrived caravans of Central Asia, and the merchandise of Bokhara and Afghanistan. I hope during my visit to see something of your city, and I shall this morning at any rate have a bird's eye view of it as I fly over the Peshawar valley.

You have called my attention to several needs which your Municipality feels, and I am pleased to find that as trustees for the well-being of the city, you realise your responsibilities in the many matters which are essential to the health and comfort of your citizens. I can well realise the peculiar difficulties of your housing problem. Situated as your city is at the very mouth of the great trade route from India to Central Asia, its population must, in the ordinary course of events, be constantly on the increase, and as I passed in the train this morning, I noticed the high city walls which, though no doubt they have often been necessary to protect you against marauding bands, yet set a definite limit on the expansion of your city. I

Peshawar Municipality Address.

trust however that you will be able to surmount these difficulties, and it is much to your credit that you realise your obligations to give your citizens the opportunity to live in conditions of reasonable health and comfort. I have also been concerned to hear that the completion of your water-supply scheme and the construction of a drainage system have been held up for lack of funds. I fully realise the urgent necessity of both these schemes and any application for a loan, if made through the proper channels, will be duly considered by the Government of India. We have already called for suggestions for sanitation schemes extending over a period of five years and have the proposals of this Province now under consideration. I also understand from the Chief Commissioner that he is putting forward proposals for the re-arrangement of the Public Works organisation in the Province, which he hopes will greatly facilitate the development of works in Municipalities. I can assure you that the Government of India is keenly alive to the importance of these aspects of Municipal administration and will carefully consider any scheme calculated to safeguard the amenities and health of your Municipality. It is always a pleasure to me to meet a body of City Fathers and to have an opportunity of thanking them for the valuable service they render to their fellow-citizens. Much of their work is performed unostentatiously, wins scanty acknowledgment, and some of it may at times seem of parochial importance. But you may be sure that its real value is well recognised by the Government who are ever grateful to men who, like yourselves, spontaneously devote so much of their time and energy to the well-being of their city.

In conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to share your hope that your city will continue, with the help of Providence, to enjoy the freedom it has hitherto possessed from those unfortunate dissensions which have recently marred the

Address presented by the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts.

life of so many towns in India. As you say, you live close to territory where at the best of times peace and quiet are none too secure, and where life often depends on a quick eye and a steady aim. It is therefore all the more important that the peace of your city should not be disturbed. The communal discord which arises from time to time in India cannot last for ever, and I hope that reason and toleration will gradually but surely remove this menace from Indian life. It will be a great source of satisfaction to me, and of legitimate pride to you, if this frontier town in which I take so intimate an interest emerges from this period of tension with a record unblemished by any unfortunate incident. We thank you once again for welcoming us so kindly, and hope that we may renew our visit to your city on some future occasion.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE PESHAWAR, KOHAT
AND HAZARA DISTRICTS.

25th October
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts at Peshawar on the afternoon of the 25th October :--

Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin joins me in thanking you sincerely for the address which you have just presented to us. It gives us great pleasure to receive this warm Frontier welcome at the hands of so many representative men from the Districts of Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara, for it makes us feel, although we have not spent many hours among you, that we have already made many friends. Even on this short acquaintance I can well realise the spell which the romance and adventure of the North-West Frontier has laid on the imagination of so many of my countrymen.

Address presented by the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts.

I have made it a point to visit this Province as early as possible in my term of office. The Viceroy of India must always keep an anxious eye turned towards its North-West Frontier, where situations may suddenly arise which demand the instant exercise of judgment and initiative on the part of those officers who are charged with its care. I was greatly pleased, therefore, to listen to the well-merited tribute you have just paid to the skill and devotion of the officers now serving in the Province. It is natural, too, that the Viceroy, who for the last quarter of a century has been directly responsible for the administration of the Province, should take an intimate and personal interest in the welfare of its people. I can claim to have viewed the frontier question from a different angle from any of my predecessors, as it has not been the good fortune of any previous Viceroy to view the frontier from the air as I have to-day. Perhaps my most lively impression was the suddenness with which the rich and fertile plains of Peshawar merge into the barren hills of Independent territory. I felt that in that sharp contrast was typified the whole frontier problem, as it existed in the times of the Great Sikandar, of Mahmud of Ghazni, of the Mogul Emperors, and as it exists to-day. You have yourselves spoken of the economic pressure which tempts the hungry hill-man to raid the plains lying at his feet, and have pointed to the true method of removing this temptation. You may be sure that the Government of India are always ready to consider schemes for the extension of civilization in trans-border country and for the improvement of its economic position. Your Chief Commissioner, Sir Norman Bolton, whose long and valuable services to the frontier you have so justly praised, has informed me that he will shortly submit a scheme for the reafforestation of certain tracts across the border, and I can assure you that it will receive my sympathetic consideration.

Address presented by the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts.

You have referred to the necessity of adequate defence of the settled districts by the grant of further responsibilities to the border Khans. As you know, the organisation of civil forces along the frontier has recently been considered by a Commission of Enquiry and the question of giving a larger scope to your tribal levies is now being examined. You need feel no doubt that I appreciate at their full value your services in keeping intact the border, and the need of your co-operation in any scheme devised for its protection. Of your personal qualifications as guardians of the frontier, we can call frontier history as witness, for it must have been a hardy race indeed that finally made good its claim to the possession of these rich Northern valleys, and you have repeatedly shown in the service of the British Government that you still possess the fighting qualities of your ancestors. Of that, the Great War was evidence, when you gave so many of your young men to fight for the Empire in distant parts of the world. You will not, I hope, think it invidious, where so many of your clans have distinguished war records, if I single out the Khattaks as deserving of our special gratitude for their magnificent services in the Great War. With these sentiments in my mind, I would gladly, if I could, comply with your desire for further opportunities of service in the Indian Army, but I fear that in present circumstances I can give no promise of any extension of recruitment. I will undertake however to bring your request to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief who knows better perhaps than anyone the military worth of the men of the frontier.

Those anxious days of war have passed, but I cannot forget the staunchness with which the people of these districts supported Government throughout that period and allowed no serious trouble to invade their borders. I now visit the frontier at a time when peace reigns in the

Address presented by the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts.

Province itself, in Independent territory and in Afghanistan. Although I am well aware that we must be constantly on the alert for signs of trouble, I hope that the years before us may see no interruption of these conditions, and so permit your Province to enjoy in expanding measure the benefits of ordered progress.

I share with your hope that the Royal Commission on Agriculture may guide us towards a solution of some of the many problems which beset the agriculturist and which, I can assure you, are of absorbing personal interest to me. Agriculture no doubt in this Province in common with the rest of India has yet much to learn from the results of scientific enquiry, and I shall always view with sympathy any scheme calculated to improve the farmer's lot. You have said that the incidence of irrigation dues is a handicap to agriculture at present. I understand however that a proposal is now under consideration that rates should be graded to suit the different characteristics of the various revenue circles and should be fixed at a definite figure for a term of years. I am also glad to hear that schemes of drainage are in contemplation for improving conditions in the less favoured circles, and I trust that these measures will do something to bring the desired relief. I cannot at this moment say whether any extension of the period of the Hazara settlement will be feasible or not, but your request in this connection will be carefully examined.

Your address assures me that you realise the need of general education throughout the Province, and it is not necessary for me to tell you how warmly I concur in your appreciation of the importance of this subject. A comprehensive scheme is now under the consideration of the Government of India, and I hope that so far as funds permit effect will soon be given to it. One of the many vivid impressions which I received as I flew over the

Address presented by the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara Districts.

Peshawar valley to-day was the cluster of buildings, not far from the mouth of the Khyber Pass, which form the Islamia College. It is both significant and appropriate that almost the first scene which strikes the eye of the traveller from Central Asia should be this tangible proof of the value that the North-West Frontier Province ascribes to her higher education, which she has thus pushed forward to the very gates of tribal territory. You are right to feel pride in this institution, which for healthiness of tone must compare well with any in India.

You have put forward the suggestion that your Province should be granted an enlarged representation in the Houses of the Central Legislature. I may briefly explain the position to you. The proportion of nominated to elected seats in the Central Legislature has been fixed by statute, and the allocation of seats throughout India has been so adjusted that it is now impossible to increase the number of nominations without at the same time increasing the number of elected seats. It is not, however, contemplated that any general re-distribution of seats should be undertaken pending the consideration of the whole matter by the Statutory Commission, and for the present therefore I regret it is impossible to add to the number either of elected or of nominated seats.

I find some difficulty in replying to that portion of your address in which you have so eloquently pleaded your case for the grant of further responsibility in the management of your own affairs. For it is natural that a people who have proved their loyalty and public spirit, as you have done, should claim the chance to take their full share in the advance which is taking place in the rest of India towards responsible Government. But your request raises issues of such importance not only to this Province but

Address presented by the Afridi Jirgah at Landi Kotal.

to all India that they demand the most thorough and careful deliberation. I have paid this visit to the Frontier partly with the very object of forming my own opinion on this difficult question and of judging for myself how far the exceptional position and special circumstances of the North-West Frontier Province necessitate a different treatment from the rest of India. I therefore refrain from the attempt to give you a definite reply to-day, but I shall not fail, as I consider these questions, to give due weight to the representations you have made. And I can assure you, gentlemen, that any decision which may be reached will be dictated by a single desire to promote the peace and well-being of your people, which is so essential a factor in the safety and progress both of the Frontier Province and the whole of India.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE AFRIDI JIRGAH AT
LANDI KOTAL.

H. E. the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Afridi Jirgah at Landi Kotal on the 26th October, and replied in the following terms :—

Maliks and Elders,—It has given me great pleasure to visit the Khyber, and to meet the Maliks and Elders of the Afridi and Shinwari tribes. I thank you for your cordial welcome, and shall always retain a vivid picture of all that I have seen to-day.

You have referred in your address to the request you made to my predecessor for an increase in your allowances in consideration of your responsibilities connected with the new Railway, which I have observed with such interest as I drove up the Pass this morning. It is indeed a striking monument to the skill and labour both of those who

Address from the Utmanzai Wazirs and Daur.

designed it and of those who carried out the work of construction. As I have only recently taken charge of my office, I have not yet been able to come to a decision on your request ; but I have it under my consideration and shall give my personal attention to the various arguments you have advanced in favour of your claim.

This is the first tribal jirgah I have attended. I have always heard that the jirgah of the Afridi and Shinwari tribes was a model of dignified conduct and procedure, and I am gratified to find that this is indeed the case. I was also especially pleased to notice the smart bearing of the Khyber Khassadars, who protected the road between here and Jamrud.

I can assure you that it is my earnest desire to preserve the friendliest relations with your important tribe. On the feeling of mutual good-will and confidence between the Government and the tribes of Independent territory, and on the friendly co-operation of your Malik and Elders with the officials of Government, depends the welfare and progress of your country. I am happy to find that such relations exist to-day and I shall always listen sympathetically to any scheme which makes for the peace and prosperity of the Khyber.

ADDRESS FROM THE UTMANZAI WAZIRS AND DAURS.

29th October
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Utmanzai Wazirs and Daur on the occasion of his visit to the Tochi Agency on the 29th October and made the following reply:—

It has given me great pleasure to visit the Tochi Agency and to receive this welcome from the Utmanzai Wazirs and Daur. I thank you for the address to which

*Address from the Representatives of the Bannu and Dera
Ismail Khan Districts.*

I have just listened and for the gifts which, according to your hospitable custom, you have presented to me. I am happy to think that I have come to this Agency at a time when there is peace not only in Waziristan but throughout the North-West Frontier Province. I can assure you that it is my desire to preserve the friendliest relations with your tribes and I am glad to find the spirit of co-operation which now exists between the Tochi Wazirs and Government. I trust that in your own private disputes you will not have recourse to violence, but that you will compose your differences by means of friendly arbitration. I thank you again for your good wishes and assure you that the prosperity of your tribe is a matter of deep interest to me.

ADDRESS FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
BANNU AND DERA ISMAIL KHAN DISTRICTS.

In replying to the address presented by representatives of ^{31st October} the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts on the 31st October, 1926, H. E. the Viceroy said:—

Gentlemen,—In these last few days I have been fortunate enough to see the North-West Frontier almost from end to end. As I flew over the Peshawar Valley in an aeroplane on Monday, I could see the distant Black Mountain, the great mountain ranges of Swat and Chitral, and the cultivated valleys of our own settled districts. I have passed through the less fertile valleys of the Khattaks and the more forbidding hills of Waziristan. I have indeed made the acquaintance of a wonderful variety of country. But what I value still more is the opportunity which has been given me to meet so many of the leading men of all parts of the frontier and to make so many friends. It is therefore a great pleasure to me to complete my acquaintance by meeting the representatives of the Bannu and Dera,

*Address from the Representatives of the Bannu and Dera
Ismail Khan Districts.*

Ismail Khan Districts who have been good enough to welcome Lady Irwin and myself in such kind terms to-day and who have enclosed that welcome in so beautiful a Casket. An added interest has been given to our visit by the knowledge that this is the first occasion on which a Viceroy has visited these districts since the formation of the Province a quarter of a century ago. We thank you sincerely for the cordial address to which we have just listened.

I have been specially gratified throughout my tour to observe the atmosphere of peace and content which prevails both in the settled districts and in independent territory. You yourselves have referred to the happy immunity from raids which has been enjoyed by your own districts during the last few years, and I highly appreciate the tribute you have paid to the policy of Government which has achieved this result, and to the success with which your able Chief Commissioner Sir Norman Bolton and the local officers, in co-operation with the people, have carried that policy into effect. Your co-operation is indeed essential for the prevention of raids by trans-border tribesmen, for it is the residents of the settled districts who by giving prompt information to the authorities, and by refusing to allow outlaws to revisit their homes in British territory, can make it well nigh impossible for raiding gangs to meet with success. I do not of course minimise the responsibilities which Government have in this respect. I know well that peace and tranquillity on the frontier do not come as a matter of course, but must be preserved by constant watchfulness, and if necessary by stern measures.

The question of the extension of the reforms to this Province, to which a reference has been made in your address, raises points of such great importance that I cannot at this moment give you any definite answer. I can only repeat briefly what I said on this subject in Peshawar a

Address from the Representatives of the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts.

few days ago that the matter is receiving my earnest consideration and that I have paid this visit to the Frontier partly in order to form my own judgment in regard to it. I will however express the hope that while the matter is under discussion, nothing will occur to intensify communal differences and thereby possibly hamper the political development of the Province. It is perhaps hardly necessary to remind you how easily disorder in this Province may spread to Independent territory and there give rise to even more serious difficulties.

You have referred in your address to various directions in which your districts need help or encouragement. The importance of each one of these is fully recognised by Government as the history of the last few years has shown. The construction of the Draban-Ghazni Khel road and the roads connecting Hathala with Kulachi and Lakki with Bannu will, I hope, contribute much to the safety and convenience of the inhabitants of these districts. Proposals for the extension of communications are always sympathetically considered by the Government of India and every effort is made to allot funds for carrying them out. The recent grants for Bannu and Peshawar hospitals are part of the policy of Government for giving grants-in-aid for medical relief so far as the other demands upon the resources of the Government of India permit. A far reaching programme moreover for the extension of education is now under consideration of Government, and although it has not yet been accepted in all its details, I can, I think, safely say that it will effect a considerable extension of the educational facilities in this Province. The construction of a bridge over the Indus at Kalabagh is a question which for some time has been under the careful consideration of the Railway Board, but it has not yet been possible to devise a suitable

Address from the Representatives of the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts.

scheme. It is moreover difficult to justify from a commercial point of view the conversion of the railway to Bannu from a narrow to a broad gauge; but I hope that as conditions become more settled in Waziristan, the military restrictions on the use of the existing railway may be removed. I can also assure you that your request for a narrow gauge line from Dera Ismail Khan to Pezu will be carefully considered.

I fear that I hold out little hope that further grants of land in canal colonies will be available for the North-West Frontier Province, but I can assure you of my personal sympathy with any practical scheme which aims at increasing irrigated area in your own districts. The preliminary survey for a canal taking off from the Indus at Kalabagh has been sanctioned and will be carried out this cold weather, and if the natural difficulties of the country are found to render the scheme impracticable, steps will be taken to improve the existing means of irrigation so far as physical conditions permit. I listened with much concern to your story of the difficulties with which the inhabitants of the Marwat Tehsil have to contend in obtaining a supply of drinking water. I can well realise the hardships which they must suffer in the pitiless heat of the summer and I would gladly see improvements made with a view to their relief. The question, however, is primarily one with which the local authorities should deal, and they would be in a better position to fulfil this duty if the District Board would agree to levy the full local rate as taken in the Punjab.

I am gratified to hear of the success which has so far attended the embankment built to protect the city of Dera Ismail Khan from the encroachments of the Indus, and I trust that it will continue to withstand the attacks of that mighty river. It is a pleasure to find that you have made

Address presented by the Jirga at Tank.

such good use of the grant and loan which you received from the Government of India for this protective work, and I hope that an era of commercial prosperity will quickly enable you to repay the loan.

It is my earnest hope that you whom I am addressing to-day will use all your authority to preserve that unity of purpose and endeavour between classes and communities, on which the progress, prosperity, and indeed the whole social life, of your districts depend.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I assure you of the close interest I take—as indeed every Viceroy must take—in all parts of the North-West Frontier. I am glad to have been brought into personal touch with so many of you, as I shall now be better able to appreciate any question that may come before me affecting the interests of your two districts. I leave you now with every good wish for your progress and welfare, which, so far as it may lie in my power, I shall be constantly anxious to encourage and promote.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE JIRGA AT TANK.

H. E. the Viceroy received an address from the Maliks of the Mahsud, Wana Wazir and Bhattanni Tribes at Tank on the 31st October 1926, and delivered the following reply:—

Maliks of the Mahsud, Wana Wazir and Bhattanni tribes.—It has given me the greatest pleasure to receive your deputations here to-day and to hear your loyal addresses and I accept with thanks the presents which you have so kindly offered to me. This visit to Waziristan and contact with the tribes which inhabit it has aroused in me the deepest interest in your welfare. I note with great satisfaction your loyalty to Government and the endeavours of maliks

Banquet at Bahawalpur.

and tribesmen alike to co-operate with Government in establishing peace and prosperity throughout Waziristan. I would only urge that now that you are on such friendly terms with Government you should also endeavour to compose the tribal and private feuds, which lead to so much trouble and bloodshed amongst yourselves. I can assure you that I shall entertain most pleasant recollections of my visit here to-day and that I shall never forget you and the loyal reception which you have given me. I conclude by wishing that all of you who are here to-day may enjoy long and happy lives and that the present peace and prosperity which reigns in Waziristan may daily increase and become more firmly established.

BANQUET AT BAHAWALPUR.

1st November 1926. His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In replying to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have long looked forward to the time when I should pay my first visit to an Indian State and get my first taste of the hospitality for which Indian Princes are famous. I had heard so much of the spontaneous cordiality with which you, Your Highness, and all Princes of India have been accustomed to welcome the Viceroy to the States over which you rule that I came here with high expectations, and I may say at once that I have not been disappointed. On Lady Irwin's behalf and on my own I thank Your Highness most heartily for the welcome you and your people have extended to us and for the kind terms in which Your Highness has just proposed our health.

You have been good enough to express your pleasure that Bahawalpur should be the first State that I have been

Banquet at Bahawalpur.

able to visit in India. I for my part am happy to have the opportunity, so early in my Viceroyalty, of seeing something of a State which is now in such an interesting stage of its history. It does not require much imagination to picture to oneself what the extension of the great Sutlej Valley project means to Bahawalpur. Anyone who has seen or read descriptions of the Punjab plains as they existed even 35 years ago,—much of it a waterless expanse where harvests were scanty and villages few and far between—and then lets his eye dwell, as he can to-day, on the emerald carpet which covers vast areas of irrigated land, can visualise the great future which is now opening out before the State of Bahawalpur. In taking its place as part of the great system of Punjab canal colonisation, your State is sharing in perhaps the most wonderful human effort which the world has seen towards the development of the resources of the earth's surface. This is a task which day by day calls more and more imperatively to the human race, and I hope that in the future of this scheme Bahawalpur will play no unworthy part. You start with many advantages. You have had the benefit of the best technical knowledge of canal engineering in the world ; you have profited from the experience learnt to laboriously during the last half century by men who devoted their lives to the problems of irrigation ; you have, in the neighbouring Punjab colonies, a standard of achievement which will spur you to untiring effort. Everything is in your favour and prosperity is assured if you make wise and prudent use of this great gift which has been vouchsafed to you. I am confident that Your Highness will successfully surmount the many difficult problems which will inevitably arise. You have just said that you anticipate an increase of the population of your State to two and a half times its present figure. That indeed would be a great achievement, but it can only be brought about if Your Highness is able resolutely to insist

Banquet at Bahawalpur.

on a standard of administration in your State which will encourage colonists to take up land with confidence. I am pleased to hear that Your Highness has recently sold twenty thousand acres at good prices—a fact which augurs well for the eventual success of the scheme, and I feel sure that Mr. Fitzpatrick, whom Your Highness has appointed as Revenue Minister, will continue to give valuable help and advice to you and to your officials. I can assure Your Highness that the Government of India lay the greatest stress on the importance of having fully experienced officers to carry out this work, and I need hardly offer you the advice that, by careful selection of officials at this juncture, you will pave the way to the ultimate prosperity of your canal colonies, as surely as by unwise selection you would jeopardise the high promise of the whole undertaking.

The organisation and development of your State will create many new appointments, and I am glad to know that Your Highness is alive to the importance of this matter, and that the increase of general and technical education among your subjects is receiving your earnest attention. Although for some time to come it is likely to be necessary to obtain suitable men from outside, for the higher appointments at any rate, I sympathise with Your Highness' desire that the State should ultimately be capable of supplying its own officers to carry on the work of administration.

I wish here to express my satisfaction that the Durbar by its declaration of two years ago has definitely abandoned the system of forced labour on the canals. I have no doubt that Your Highness fully realised that such a system, apart from being economically and politically unsound would have certainly deterred the right class of colonists from leaving their homes to take up land in Bahawalpur.

Banquet at Bahawalpur.

Your Highness has been good enough to hope that Lady Irwin and I shall have an opportunity at some later date of visiting your State again. If we are fortunate enough to do so, I hope that I shall find my expectations fulfilled, that in place of Cholistan we shall find a Gulistan, and that Bahawalpur will by then be firmly established on the road to prosperity.

During the next day or two we look forward to making a personal acquaintance with those outlying parts of your State which, as you say, no Viceroy has ever yet visited, and I can assure Your Highness that you are right in thinking that my chief object in doing so is to get a better understanding of the administrative problems which face your Government and, if possible, to give a little encouragement to those who are entrusted with carrying out your policy.

I have heard with pleasure Your Highness' tribute to the loyalty and efficiency of your Ministers and officers, and to the happy relations which exist between Your Highness and the Agent to the Governor-General, Colonel St. John. Earlier in your speech Your Highness referred to the friendship which has for so long existed between your State and the British Government. I feel confident that those traditions of loyalty to the Crown which Your Highness has inherited from your ancestors will be maintained by you with the same scrupulous regard that I, as representative of the King-Emperor, shall always hope to have for the old engagements which have happily guided our mutual relations.

In conclusion, I am glad to have the opportunity of asking this company to drink to the long life, health and prosperity of our host His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

SIXTH SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

22nd Novem-
ber 1926.

H. E. the Viceroy presided over the Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the morning of the 22nd November and opened the Proceedings with the following Address :—

Your Highnesses,—I have great pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses to the Sixth Session of your Chamber. It is the first Session over which I have had the honour to preside, and I am very pleased that what I believe is a record number of Princes should have been able to attend.

I much regret that there are some whose faces I had hoped to see in this Chamber, but who are no longer with us. Since the Chamber last met, three of your number have been removed by death. His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar was one who by his character had won the esteem of all who knew him. Death came to him early, but in the courage with which he awaited its approach, as in the whole spirit of his life, he has left behind him an example that many an older man might envy.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh too was a figure well known to Your Highnesses, though latterly ill-health had debarred him from being present at these meetings. He too was a good ruler and a man of many friends.

The most recent loss is that of the Nawab of Loharu. A wise ruler of his State, he had taken a close interest in the affairs of this Chamber and during the past few sessions had taken considerable part in its debates.

Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to join with me in recording an expression of our deep sympathy with all who have been thus bereaved, and in wishing prosperity and happiness to those who have succeeded to their responsibilities.

Besides these three losses through death, there have been two other changes in your membership. The *ex-*

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

Maharaja Holkar of Indore, by vacating his *gadi*, in circumstances with which Your Highnesses are familiar, has thereby ceased to be a member of the Chamber. I take this opportunity of publicly expressing my hope and belief that his son, who has succeeded him, will prove worthy of his high position.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal is one who has deserved well of her State and of India, and who for nearly 25 years has devoted herself unsparingly to the discharge of her duties. She felt that in her son she had a successor capable of carrying on her great work, and it was in the full confidence that she was taking no rash step which she might afterwards regret, that she resolved to vacate the *masnad* in his favour. In her a great figure has passed from the stage of active life, and we all wish her many years of happy retirement. She has much to give her happiness—in the memories both of her own long service and of her unswerving loyalty to the Crown ; but I think she is likely to find her most enduring satisfaction in the wise government of the State by her successor, whom we welcome here to-day.

As this is the first occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing Your Highnesses as a body, I should like to give you some indication of the feelings which I entertain towards the Princes of India and their States, and of the principles by which I consider our mutual relations should be guided. I can claim indeed something in the nature of a hereditary interest in the Indian States, as one of the best-remembered actions of my grandfather, as Secretary of State for India, was his approval of Lord Canning's proposals for the grant of the adoption *sanads* to the Rulers of the principal States. But there are other grounds on which the Indian States have always made to me a powerful and particular appeal. No one who has read history, and has anything of the historical sense in

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

his composition, can fail to be attracted by the setting of tradition and romance in which the picture of your families and States is framed.

Moreover, if by political creed I am a Conservative, it is because I am convinced that none of us can hope to make any contribution of value to the cause of progress, if we seek to disregard the long evolution of history which has made us what we are. That process has been slow, often it has been painful, and often those whose work we can now review are seen to have wandered from the path they sought to follow. But the process has been single and continuous. And if the life of the different ages of man is thus indissolubly linked together into an organic whole, those surely are right who seek to blend just reverence for the past with their loftiest aspirations for the future. Here, again, in such a philosophy the States seem to stand astride the centuries, and to hold a place of interest peculiarly their own.

And lastly, they appeal to me, holding firmly as I do the conviction that we are all of us concerned with the building of a future, better and greater than the past or present, through which it will be brought to birth. In that sphere of this world task which lies in India, British India and the States over which Your Highnesses rule are partners, and it is for you, on your side, as for British India on hers, to see that the structure we are building is sound at heart, that there are no loose stones, no internal flaw, which, though hidden from the outside world, may secretly be tending towards the weakness and ultimate destruction of the whole.

I have said enough to show you some of the general considerations by which my mind is influenced in regard to the work which we hope to do together. As regards our official relations, I need hardly assure Your Highnesses that I realise to the full the sanctity and binding nature

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

of the treaties and sanads, and that I shall do all in my power to observe them. But, as Your Highnesses and I are aware, there is another aspect of our relations, and I do not think that in practice we shall find ourselves in disagreement as to the proper limits of intervention. The general policy of Government remains, as it has been in the past, a policy of non-interference in affairs that are internal to the States. It is only in extreme cases that the Paramount Power will intervene, and I can assure Your Highnesses that any such action which it is ever thought necessary to take will be taken only after the most deliberate and sympathetic consideration, and with the greatest reluctance. Its sole purpose will be the furtherance of the interest, present and future, of the Indian States, and of the general Order of the Princes themselves. I offer you my confidence, and I know that I may count on yours ; for indeed our mutual confidence is more than ever necessary at this juncture of Indian political development.

One matter of common interest, to which Your Highnesses attach considerable weight, has recently been receiving the earnest attention of my Government. I refer to the claim which has been put forward by the States to a share in the customs revenues of the Government of India. An exhaustive examination of the claims put forward has failed to reveal grounds on which relief can be claimed as a matter of right, either from the point of view of treaty obligations or past practice. I am nevertheless conscious that the situation has changed of late years and that the States generally, as also the Provincial Governments of British India, often find difficulty in meeting the demands for additional expenditure, which are becoming increasingly insistent as out of date methods of administration are discarded and efforts made to keep abreast of modern developments. But while fully sympathising with Your Highnesses' desire for a speedy settlement of this

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

important question I feel very strongly that it is but one aspect of the many-sided problem of the political evolution of India and of the future relations, especially of the future financial relations, between the Government of India and the Indian States. I am only too conscious of the difficulties which must be surmounted before that problem can be solved and they are engaging my anxious consideration. But it would manifestly be premature for me or my Government to commit ourselves in regard to this question of the customs revenues to any definite line of action which might seem to prejudge the larger problem to which I have referred. In regard to that larger problem I would say only this, that I am confident that on one fundamental point there will be no difference of opinion. The solution to be aimed at must be one which will tend to unity and not to dissidence among the various elements which go to make up the Indian Empire.

It is becoming every day more clear that the future relations of the States with the Government of India are a matter of the greatest moment, and I am anxious that this question should be examined with the greatest possible care from every point of view. I do not suggest that any action is immediately necessary. But frank discussion can do nothing but good and I therefore propose, for the consideration of Your Highnesses, that the Chamber should authorise the Standing Committee to hold informal talks with me and my advisers, whenever I think this might most advantageously be done. I lay emphasis on the fact that such conversations would be entirely informal. They would be merely exploratory in character and would pledge none of those taking part in them to any conclusions. Their object would be simply to clear our minds on a subject of great complexity and great importance, and I know that they would be useful both to the States and to the Government of India. I, therefore, ask Your Highness to consider my proposal with care and sympathy.

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

I now wish to say a few words on the position of the Indian States in relation to International Conventions. As Lord Reading pointed out, some of the Conventions by their very nature call for action by the Imperial Government alone, but there are others that relate to matters of purely domestic concern. In regard to this latter class of Convention we can, I know, rely upon Your Highnesses' co-operation wherever possible, but I need hardly repeat his assurance that we have no intention, if I may recall his phrase, of "ignoring or compromising the rights which are vested in the Rulers of Indian States".

But although in practice we anticipate that Your Highnesses will readily co-operate so far as it may be in your power to do so, it is manifestly desirable that there should be no possibility of any misunderstanding of the position on the part of other nations. In some cases this result can be obtained by means of reservations at the time of the signing of a convention. In others this course may not be practicable, and we are at present in consultation with His Majesty's Government with a view to finding a solution for this second class of cases.

I now wish to make an appeal to Your Highnesses on a matter which is of profound importance both to the internal administration of India and to her good name among the other nations of the world.

Your Highnesses are aware that by her ratification of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912, India, like the other ratifying Powers, pledged herself to the ultimate suppression of opium-smoking, and undertook certain obligations by way of the limitation and control of opium export.

As a result of the Geneva Conferences in 1924 and 1925 further agreements were made. Within five years effective steps are to be taken to prevent the illicit traffic

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

in raw opium from constituting a serious obstacle to the ultimate suppression of opium-smoking. A Commission of the League of Nations will visit the producing countries at the end of that time to decide whether this obligation has been fulfilled. When it is considered that illicit traffic in exports of raw opium has been effectively suppressed, the signatories have covenanted to reduce, and within 15 years to prohibit, the use in their own territories of opium for smoking.

Although opium-smoking is luckily rare in India, we are greatly concerned to assist the countries of the Far East to rid themselves of this social scourge. In pursuance of this policy, we have recently decided to reduce our exports of opium to the Far East, except what is required for medicinal use, to a vanishing point in ten years time. This decision, when in full effect, will cost us two crores a year, and may rightly rank, as an example of unselfish idealism, beside the great self-denying Ordinance of 1913, whereby India sacrificed an annual revenue of £4 million sterling in the China trade. Abolition of export must of course be gradual. We cannot disregard the interests of the cultivators and too rapid a diminution of exports from regulated sources of supply might only result in making things worse by stimulating the illicit traffic.

Our external policy then is the gradual extinction of exports, our internal policy the total suppression of opium-smoking and the reduction of opium-eating to reasonable limits.

It is to carry this policy into effect that your help for which I am now asking is essential. There are in particular two features in certain of the States which are causing us concern, the very high rate of consumption and the enormous stocks of old opium. In Central India, the consumption is eight times and in Rajputana 16 times the

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

standard rate laid down by the League of Nations, while it is calculated that it must take 30 years to bring existing stocks into legitimate consumption. Consumption of old stocks is retarded by extensive cultivation, and you yourselves are aware that these conditions and the low price of opium in the States of Central India and Rajputana furnish an inevitable incentive to extensive smuggling into other parts of India and abroad. Unless we can effect a radical improvement in these conditions, I do not see how we can face with equanimity the League of Nations Commission which will visit India in a few years time. What answer shall we be able to give when they charge us with failing to fulfil our international obligations? We are pledged to stop smuggling to foreign countries, but preventive measures are of little value so long as we have in our midst this large reservoir of old opium, and additional stocks coming into being year by year owing to the absence of an all-India policy of production. It will be clear to Your Highnesses, as it is to myself, that you and the Government of India must work together in this matter. I have no ready-made scheme to place before this Chamber but the ultimate decision, whatever it may be, must be the product of the combined wisdom and the voluntary co-operation of the Government and the Durbars. The problem is world-wide, it cries out for solution and I accordingly propose to invite the Durbars concerned to nominate delegates to an early Conference in regard to it. I am certain that in appealing to Your Highnesses for your help in this matter, I shall not appeal in vain. You will not wish to be backward in associating yourselves with the Government of India in this new Crusade. The Treaty of Versailles by which the League of Nations was created, was signed by a Member of your own Order, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. None of you can remain indifferent to any abuse of opium that may occur in your own territories and to the reproach that is thereby cast

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

on India in the eyes of the world. The Rulers of India took their place beside us in the Great World War. I appeal to them to come forward and take their place beside us in another Great War—the war against drugs, which inflict damage so baneful and insidious upon the character and physique of the human race. In these last few days we have been reminded that the poppy of Flanders Field has become the emblem of remembrance of those who fell in the war and of hope of better things which they died to win for us. The poppy of India must not be allowed to stain the fair name of her sister-flower in Flanders.

There is one further matter on which I appeal for Your Highnesses' co-operation. As in British India so in Your Highnesses' territories, the welfare of the agricultural population is the true basis of national prosperity. The Royal Commission on Agriculture is now engaged in reviewing the difficulties which hinder advances in this field, and I venture to hope that the results of their enquiry may prove of value and assistance to Your Highnesses as well as to British India. It is clear that as the agricultural problems of British India and Indian States are essentially the same, close collaboration will be to the advantage of both. The problem which I have particularly in mind at this moment is the question of epidemic diseases of plants and cattle. We have to fight virulent plant pests and epidemics which from time to time ravage the cattle population of this country. The value of our efforts in struggling against these attacks will be enormously enhanced if we work hand in hand, Province with Province, British India with the Indian States. I hope and believe that Your Highnesses will be prepared, wherever you may, to join forces in this field with British India.

The programme before Your Highnesses at this Session is not a heavy one. This is in part due to the

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

fact that, for reasons with which Your Highnesses are familiar, the last Session had to be postponed until February. The Standing Committee too found it impossible to convene a meeting before May, and although they have performed a great deal of useful work at their two meetings since the last Session, the important questions which they have discussed have naturally called for careful and detailed examination. Time has thus not permitted of the presentation of many of the subjects now under discussion, but I trust, when we meet again, that it will be possible to place before Your Highnesses a number of interesting and important subjects. The Standing Committee have suggested that they should in future meet three times a year instead of twice. The suggestion is a sound one and will, I believe, facilitate the speedy despatch of business.

I have already referred to some subjects connected with the League of Nations, and it is becoming an annual feature of your Sessions that we should listen to a report from a Member of Your Order selected to attend its annual Assembly. These reports, as my predecessor remarked last year, are unique both in interest and character and they mark in an emphatic manner the intimate association of Your Highnesses with all that concerns India as a nation and as a partner in the Empire. This year we had in His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala a representative, whose wide knowledge of Western Nations and of the life of Europe no less than his mastery of the French language gave him an equipment of particular value for his task, and we shall listen with special interest to his report. The recent Assembly has been noteworthy for the admission of Germany to the comity of nations and has thereby marked an important advance towards true peace, without which our hope of world recovery must be as illusory as the distant mirage.

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

I regret very much that it was not possible this year to invite a Member of Your Order to represent India at the Imperial Conference. The circumstances of this year's Conference were however in some ways peculiar. The Secretary of State decided that he would himself lead the Delegation and he selected an English official of the Indian Civil Service to accompany him as economic expert, in view of the fact that the Agenda related so largely to commercial questions. This left one place only to be filled by someone who was not an official, and it was felt that in these circumstances the place should go rather to a representative drawn from British India than to one drawn from the States.

As Your Highnesses are aware, the principles of selection have not been reduced to rules, and no undertaking has been given either to the States or to British India in regard to the composition of the Delegations. But in the past the advantages of selecting a Ruling Prince as one of the representatives of India have been fully realised, and I can assure Your Highnesses that I hope, except when conditions similar or analogous to those of this year may prevail, that it will be possible for India to have the benefit of the personal co-operation of one of the Princes' Order.

The question of tours and visits abroad was recently discussed both in the Standing Committee and in the Chamber, and Your Highnesses will remember that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner informed you of the decision reached. His Highness mentioned that the officiating Political Secretary, Colonel Patterson, had placed it on record that there was no intention of imposing any restrictions on the movements of Ruling Princes, and added that it was on this distinct understanding that the Standing Committee had agreed to the insertion of a clause inviting Ruling Princes to give the Government of India information regarding their proposed tours. Colonel

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

Patterson's assurance was a statement of the general principle, to which the Government of India intend to adhere. But I have little doubt that you will yourselves appreciate that the general principle is one which in particular cases might work prejudicially. Cases do arise—though happily not very often—in which frequent and prolonged absences may weaken administration and gravely affect finance. In such cases, Government would fail in its plain duty,—as I hope Your Highnesses will recognise—if it did not offer advice to a Ruler, who perhaps merely from the thoughtlessness of youth and the absence of single-minded counsellors was jeopardising the true interests both of himself and of his State.

Your Highnesses will recollect that at the Session held in November 1924 His late Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior moved a Resolution that the Government of India should accept the following principles in connection with Minority Administration : firstly, that no Ruler should be expected to decide one way or the other in regard to important matters on the assumption of powers, and, secondly, that no Ruler should ordinarily until seven years after the assumption of powers be called upon to commit himself irrevocably in regard to any important measures taken during his minority.

This Resolution was carried and my predecessor undertook that it should receive the careful consideration which it deserved. In accordance with this promise the terms of the Resolution have since been subjected to careful scrutiny. My predecessor and I have given full weight to the importance which Your Highnesses attach to the principles underlying it, but the conclusion at which Lord Reading arrived, and in which, subject to anything further that Your Highnesses might wish to urge, I concur, is that the matter is one which is hardly susceptible of regulation by literal rules. Your Highnesses may however, I think,

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

safely trust the Government of India to make no unreasonable or improper use of any influence they may have over a young and inexperienced Ruler.

Your Highnesses were informed last year that, in pursuance of the policy of simplifying, as far as possible, the political relations between the Government of India and the States, although it was not practicable to abolish the post of the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, it might be possible to create a new Second Class Residency with its Headquarters at Bharatpur for the conduct of relations with the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jhalawar, Karauli and Kotah. The change was however to be conditional upon the wishes of the Princes concerned, and it has since been ascertained that the scheme, in the form in which the Government of India proposed to give effect to it, does not commend itself to all the Princes concerned. We have therefore decided that for the present, at any rate, the existing arrangement should continue.

I should like to mention one further matter to which I attach importance. My Government have for some time been examining the problem of the future of the Chiefs' Colleges. These Colleges, which owe so much to the liberality of Your Highnesses, have in the past played a part in the education of the Princes and their nobles the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate, and I should be reluctant to admit that the future is likely to see the sphere of their utility circumscribed. Like every institution however their popularity is liable to fluctuations, and in recent times there has been a falling off in attendance and some feeling of uneasiness as to what the years to come may hold in store. The causes of this must be sought, I think, not in any inherent defect in the system itself, but in certain administrative difficulties that have arisen. There is a very natural desire on the part of Your Highness to enjoy a larger share in the control of

Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes.

the Governing Bodies, and that the Governing Bodies themselves should exercise a larger measure of autonomy in the management of the Colleges and the appointment of the staff. There is also an apprehension that the Government grants, upon which the Colleges so largely depend, subject as they are to the vote of a popularly elected body, are not entirely secured. We are anxiously considering whether it is possible to devise means whereby these difficulties may be overcome and the Colleges placed on a firm footing. The problem was discussed last January by a Conference which some of Your Highnesses attended, and certain resolutions were passed. These are being further examined, and I hope that it will be possible before long to formulate definite proposals. Believing as I do in the paramount importance of the Colleges I feel I can safely count upon the support of Your Highnesses in any measures designed to preserve and improve them.

It will be Your Highnesses' duty to elect a Chancellor and Standing Committee for the next year. Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to acknowledge the ungrudging and conscientious manner in which His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has performed the responsible duties of Chancellor during the past ten months. I have myself had ample opportunity of observing with what care he attends to the Chamber's work and interests. Important engagements and absence from India have unfortunately rendered it impossible for some members of the Standing Committee to attend its meetings, but those who have done so have devoted themselves unsparingly to furthering the best interests of your Order, and have earned our gratitude for the valuable advice they have tendered.

It only remains for me to express to Your Highnesses the pleasure with which I look forward to the common deliberations which I, as representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and you, as Rulers of the great States

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

of India, shall hold together during the years of my Viceroyalty. These years promise to be a critical period in the history of British India and will have their necessary re-action on the Indian States. I am glad to think that, in any question which may arise regarding the future of your States, I shall have the benefit of the counsel of this Chamber. I, for my part, shall always welcome any view, however different from my own, which is honestly held and candidly expressed. In return I offer you my whole-hearted assistance in settling, to our mutual satisfaction, any problems that may arise, and in promoting the real welfare of the Indian States, which occupy so important a place in the life of India.

ADDRESS TO THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF
COMMERCE OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

6th December 1926. H. E. the Viceroy opened the General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Cawnpore on the 6th December with the following Address :—

Mr. Taylor and Gentlemen,—I have to thank you all for the very kind welcome you have given me, and I am very pleased that this conference should have afforded me the opportunity of renewing an earlier acquaintance with Cawnpore. I need hardly say that I very highly value the privilege of meeting here representatives of Chambers of Commerce from every part of this great country. Your agenda paper contains important subjects, and you may rest assured that my Government, like that of my predecessors, will pay careful attention to the results of your deliberations. At your meeting last year Lord Reading brought all his great experience to a review of the course of trade and industry in India during the period of his Viceroyalty. Some day I may follow his example, but my task to-day is more restricted, and I propose to

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

confine myself to saying something on a few of the subjects which claim our immediate interest.

I must so far conform to precedent as to refer briefly to the present state of Indian trade.

Last year trade was good, though it did not reach the record figures of 1924-25. But when all allowance has been made for increased prices it is satisfactory to know that our export trade has regained its pre-war volume. It is our import trade that lags behind. In the current year trade has so far not been favourable. Imports indeed are slightly up compared with last year, but exports are down in the first six months of this year by 36 crores compared with last year and by 19 crores compared with the year before. The main decrease has occurred in the value of exports of raw cotton and the cause must be sought in the disorganisation of prices attendant on the announcement of the huge cotton crop in the United States of America. This year moreover the cotton crop is later than usual. But the most recent Railway traffic returns indicate a beginning of the usual cold weather activity and by the end of the year I hope that we may have seen a recovery in our export trade.

Of particular industries, I must refer first to the great cotton mill industry of India. It is passing through a time of great difficulty, especially in Bombay. I do not here attempt to diagnose the causes of this depression, or in any way to anticipate the report of the Tariff Board which is now engaged on its investigation. The great American cotton crop, which I have already mentioned, must for a time of course add gravely to the anxieties of the industry. But we may hope that once prices of cotton and, therefore, of yarn and cloth have stabilised themselves, a steady

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

period of rising prices will follow, which will restore the mills to a happier state.

The jute industry too has had its troubles in the past few months, but its position is so strong that in my view it can be no long time before the industry is again moving along the road of assured prosperity. Tea is doing well, and I am glad to note that the coal trade has made an advance in recent months which I hope will prove to be more than the temporary reaction of the prolonged coal stoppage in Great Britain.

In Imperial commerce, as in Imperial politics, India has a definite and important place to take. You no doubt read what the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan said in his opening speech at the recent Imperial Conference, that we are anxious to see a development of trade between India and every part of the Empire, because we believe that on every ground a development of mutual knowledge in the different parts of the Empire is vital, and that the best hope of this lies in the development of trade relations. I note therefore with some regret that the proportion of our import trade coming from England is on the decline, while the figures show that our trade with the Dominions is stationary. But many influences, private and public, are at work to remedy this state of affairs. The recent visits of the South African deputation to India, of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya to Canada, and our own representatives on the Empire Parliamentary Delegation to Australia are all helping in the right direction, and stimulating the closer Imperial intercourse that we desire. We ourselves have derived great benefit from the work of our Indian Trade Commissioner in London, and if any Dominion or Colony wishes at any time to send a Trade Agent to India, it may rest assured that we shall do all that lies in our power to assist and facilitate his work.

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

It is natural at this point to ask what Government can do to strengthen commercial development in India. Much of course has already been done. I can, in the first place, hardly exaggerate the importance of the work which the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance has just completed. India owes a great debt of gratitude to that able and distinguished body of Commissioners for the thoroughness of their enquiry and for the lucidity with which this intricate subject has been presented in their Report. My Government is at present considering the legislation, necessary to give effect to their recommendations, which will be introduced in the Indian Legislature during the forthcoming session in Delhi.

The Report concerns most vitally the trade and commerce of this great country and the future development of credit and of banking facilities which are so essential to its prosperity. The recommendation of the Commission finally to stabilise the rupee at a point which is now fully justified by the experience of the last two years was designed to remove one of the most cogent causes of uncertainty and dislocation which are always inimical to sound commercial progress ; while the acceptance of a Gold Standard on the lines proposed will mean the attainment by India of the goal for which she has been striving for the last generation and the consolidation of her position amongst the great commercial nations of the world. The creation of a Reserve Bank endowed with most important functions will concentrate in the hands of one authority, in the closest touch with the agricultural, commercial and industrial interests of India, the management of both currency and credit which have hitherto been divorced. I am very confident that on such foundations will be rebuilt an enduring system of finance to the great advantage of India's prosperity, and I earnestly hope that the discus-

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

sion of these problems will proceed in an atmosphere of wide judgment and calm reason.

During Lord Reading's Viceroyalty too India took the first step in the direction of a discriminating policy of protection. That raises a large question on which there would here probably be some division of opinion, and I am not here to raise more controversy than I can help. The policy has been formally adopted by the Government of India with the assent of the Indian Legislature, and I hope you will agree that it is being wisely and prudently applied. The Government I think can justly claim that by this policy it has saved the steel industry in India from extinction and that it has greatly benefited the paper industry. The Steel Bill which is to be submitted next session will give the Legislature and the public an opportunity for assessing the results of three years' experience of this policy. But I may make one point now. One of the main objections taken to the policy of protecting the steel industry in India was that it would reduce imports and therefore would in all probability diminish India's capacity to sell her products abroad. Results have falsified this prophecy. The consumption of steel is rapidly increasing. Apart from the large production in India, imports are now 14 per cent. above the pre-war figure, and we can safely say therefore that in this respect India is not groaning under the burden of protection. The reports moreover of the Tariff Board, whether they lead to action by Government or not, can hardly fail to be of great value to the industry concerned. This is perhaps the appropriate point at which to express the gratitude which Indian industry must feel to Sir Charles Innes. One of the great achievements of a remarkable term of office has been the success with which he has guided the demand for protection on reasonable and effective lines, and I regret deeply

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

that I am soon to lose the benefit of his judgment and advice.

The Government of India still receive complaints about the adulteration and bad quality of certain Indian produce. The subject has frequently been discussed with Chambers of Commerce, and it has usually been claimed on the one hand that it is not the business of Government to interfere, and on the other that the trade concerned cannot, or will not, set its house in order. Rarely therefore is anything done. In the case of coal, Government stepped in and established a Coal Grading Board, but they did so because the need for action was urgent and on the understanding that as soon as possible the coal industry would organise itself and assume oversight of the Board. In another case, that of Indian wheat, importers in England insisted on definite standards of quality. But these two cases are exceptions and I suspect that the real remedy lies in efficient organisation by the trade itself—organisation aimed at maintaining quality and therefore also of value and price. I am convinced that India would benefit enormously by the higher prices which her goods would command if guarantees as to quality could be given by an authoritative body. This certainly applies to hides and skins, to hemp and tobacco. The Indian Tea Association has shown how a trade can benefit by organising itself, and it might be worth while for other trades to consider whether they should not adopt the same line of policy and develop some corporate body in India capable of negotiating on equal terms with foreign Associations of importers. Funds would, of course, be required. The Tea Association has provided itself with funds by means of the Indian tea cess—a very small cess imposed on tea exported from India. The cess is collected by the Customs Officers and the profits of it are handed over to the Indian Tea Association. Similar cases exist in the case of lac

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

and cotton. The Government of course must be careful about multiplying cesses of this kind, and they have to see that an intolerable burden is not placed on their Customs Officers. It is also essential that the cess should be small and should not encroach in any way upon the Government's own field of taxation. But provided these two conditions are fulfilled, I see no reason why this system of small cesses might not be expanded with advantage, and I can safely promise that if any trade organises itself in the way I have suggested and then applies to Government to collect for it a small cess upon its own products when exported from the country, its proposals will meet with careful and sympathetic consideration from Government

It has also been shown how Government can assist the commercial development of India's resources by the Forest Research work which it has carried on for some years. It is perhaps dangerous for a layman to suggest to commercial men the directions in which they might profitably extend their activities, but I have been much struck by the remarkable results obtained by the scientific and artificial seasoning of timber. If it is true that science in seven weeks can here accomplish what nature takes seven years to do, it would seem to offer a great field for commercial development.

I have left to the last what I regard as the Government's first and most important duty to its industry and commerce in this country. I mean the development of communications. And here I am happy to say that I believe that we are on the eve of great expansion. I need not refer at length to the Railways. You are all familiar with the progress that has been made in the last few years and with the programme of new construction which is

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

now being worked out. For the moment of course Railways are suffering from that slump of trade to which I have already referred. But thanks to reform which was accepted by the Legislature in 1924, both the Railways and Sir Basil Blackett can face the future with comparative confidence.

I recently noticed a repetition in the Press of the old charge that Indian Railways are based on the ports as part of a conservative policy of exploiting India for the benefit of the foreigner. I do not think that I need take the charge too seriously in a meeting of this kind and in a place like Cawnpore. Indeed, Mr. Taylor in his speech sighed for the day when Cawnpore would be connected with direct railway communication with Karachi on the west coast and Vizagapatam on the other. The big trunk railways are inevitably based on ports, for they naturally followed the old trade routes down to the important trade centres of India. They were, in fact, correctly designed to bring the "mofussil", as Mr. Taylor called it, into contact with wider markets overseas, and to enrich the Indian cultivator, who after all is the backbone of all Indian commerce, by securing for him better and steadier prices for his produce by lowering the cost of his imported necessities. The Railway Board's policy now is to fill in the web by cross lines between the trunk railways, and to provide for the movements of internal trade, which is, of course, of far greater value to the railways than external trade. For I believe that for every acre of land in India which produces crops for export, ten produce crops for local consumption.

Though the subject is one of the first importance, I do not propose to say much on the question of the improvement of our Indian roads. There can be no doubt that the expansion and improvement of Indian roads will

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

greatly assist development in various directions, and I shall await with interest the result of your discussions on the proposed Central Road Board.

In regard to harbour development in India, I should like to acknowledge the forward policy which has been pursued by the Commissioners of the chief ports of India. Great strides are being made, but an essential quality of ports is that they should be cheap, and the Government has, to this end, been paying attention to the development of the smaller ports with the object of keeping the scale of charges down. At Vizagapatam I am told that the new dredger ought to arrive very soon, and I hope that this new port will be open to traffic in three or four years' time. Concurrently with the construction of the port, we are building a railway from Raipur to Vizianagram which will open up valuable hinterland. We may expect Vizagapatam to become the manganese port of India and also the port of the Central Provinces. A new dredger has just begun work on the bar at Cochin, and here again with the assistance of the Cochin and Travancore Governments we hope before very long to develop a new and useful port on the west coast. Finally, the improvements in progress at the port of Chittagong should be of considerable benefit to the tea and jute trades.

As Lord Reading foreshadowed last year, it has now been decided to transfer all mercantile marine matters and the administration of the Shipping Acts from Local Governments to the direct control of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, which will be advised by an adequate technical staff. The first step will be the transfer of lighthouse administration. A Bill, on which the Chambers of Commerce have recently been consulted, is in course of preparation, and I hope that the Government will be able to introduce it in the Assembly during

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

the next Session. Then will follow a Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act so as to vest statutory power in the Governor-General instead of the Local Governments. There remains the question of the control of major ports. Major ports, as you are aware, are a central subject, and we have considered whether we should not bring them under the direct statutory control of the Central Government instead of leaving them to the agency control of Local Governments. This, however, is a more complicated matter. It will not be possible for the Central Government to exercise the detailed statutory control over distant ports which is now exercised by Local Governments. The considerable widening of the powers of Port Trusts which would be a necessary preliminary to centralisation, would require careful legislation, and we have decided to gain experience of the direct administration of shipping matters before taking further steps to centralise the supervision of the major ports.

Of equal importance to Indian shipping is the question of its *personnel*. There has for some time been a very natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. The Government has accordingly decided to establish a training ship at Karachi next year, and the Board of Trade have agreed to recognise the course, on the same footing as the Nautical Colleges in England, for the purposes of certificates of competency. It is however no use training Indians in this way unless they have a career open to them. I hope therefore that British Shipping Companies will co-operate to make the training ship a success by giving fair opportunity of employment to Indian cadets.

I ought perhaps to say something in regard to our project for the establishment of wireless communication between India and the United Kingdom. A license to establish and maintain Duplex Wireless communication

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

between India and the United Kingdom on the "Beam System" was granted to the Indian Radio Telegraph Company in February 1925. There has been some delay in inaugurating this service. The apparatus and plant were held up by the general strike in England, and some reconstruction of the "Distribution" portion of the buildings was found to be necessary as a result of experience gained by the Company in working the system between Canada and the United Kingdom. But matters are well advanced and it is expected that this service will be established and opened to public traffic very early next year. Nor has internal wireless communication been overlooked. A license to establish two large wireless stations for broadcasting has been granted to an Indian Company—one station to be established in the vicinity of Bombay and the other near Calcutta, and by the end of next year, if all goes well, India should have its own broadcasting stations at work. It is not necessary for me to emphasise the possibilities for India that lie in the extension across her wide and scattered spaces of this mysterious mastery of Nature.

I have left to the end what is to me perhaps most interesting—the subject of aviation. My Government have recently authorised the publication of an important memorandum by the Indian Air Board on the subject of civil aviation in India. As the Board point out, the time has now arrived when this country must face the problem inherent in the introduction of a new means of transport. The Air Board have given weighty reasons in favour of a forward policy in this matter, but the Government of India have not yet reached final conclusions on all points raised in the report. The whole subject is now under correspondence with His Majesty's Government, who have been asked to depute an officer from the Air Ministry with recent experience of the development of aviation in Europe,

Address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

to act as our adviser in the matter. The scheme is not however—if you will forgive the expression—simply “in the air”. The Air Ministry mean business and the programme which they have set for themselves is taking shape according to well-laid plans. An aeroplane service from Cairo to Karachi is to be opened in January, when Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for Air, will make the first trip, and it is hoped that by April next a regular service will be inaugurated. This is an achievement which even a few years ago would have seemed fantastic, and Sir Samuel Hoare will step from his aeroplane, a second Vasco da Gama, after a mere three days’ flight from Cairo. When the service is in running order, it will be possible to lunch in Cairo on Wednesday and have tea at Karachi on Saturday. Such a service must almost inevitably result in proposals for extension across India, as also for developments in other directions. Its influence on the lives of business men and others is obvious enough. In Australia, where there are three thousand miles of civil aviation routes, the air service has created trade between places where none existed before and has become an integral part of the lives of the inhabitants. As the air, in its new aspect as a means of communication, penetrates more and more into one’s familiar thought, the reactions upon every side of life are bound to be tremendous.

Politics, business, individual ideas and international relations will all feel the effect of a movement which further annihilates distance, and revises the geography on which so much of the world’s historical evolution has depended. India by her position is bound to be a main link in the air chain from Europe both to Australia and the Far East, and it behoves us therefore to be ready, in spite of inevitable obstacles, to take our fair share in the business of harnessing the air for civil purposes. The miracle of to-day is the commonplace of to-morrow, and

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

before many years are gone, I hazard the prophecy that the air will have gone far to supplement, if not in some measure to supplant, the sea as a highway of Imperial communications.

I thank you again, gentlemen, for the manner in which you have received me here to-day. The Government of India will always welcome the advice of your Chamber and I am glad to be able to give you an assurance that, if he is willing to serve, the Association will again be represented in the Legislature by the nomination of your elected representative to a seat in the Assembly. I can only assure you in conclusion how greatly I have appreciated the occasion of meeting those who play a part so important in the commercial life of India.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CAWNPORE MUNI-
CIPALITY AND CAWNPORE DISTRICT BOARD.

6th December
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy received a joint address from the Cawnpore Municipality and Cawnpore District Board at Cawnpore on the 6th December and replied as follows:—

Gentlemen,—I thank you much for the cordial welcome you have jointly extended to Lady Irwin and myself and for the caskets in which you have been good enough to enclose the addresses you have read. I am happy to avail myself of this early opportunity of becoming acquainted with your city, and with the district in which it lies. Cawnpore is one of the names in India, outside the Presidency towns, best known to the world in general, and though its historical associations are never likely to be forgotten, it is on its position as a centre of industrial enterprise that its fame now mainly rests. In this advance, the development of the surrounding countryside must have played an important part.

The members of the Municipal Board have been good enough to say at the opening of their address that this occa-

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

sion is no mere formality. My pleasure in receiving it is no less genuine. And I should like to take this opportunity of thanking through you the general body of Cawnpore citizens who have done so much by decoration of streets and illumination of buildings to shew me your city to the best advantage. Despite the short time since my arrival in India, I have been fortunate enough to have received addresses from local bodies in many different parts of India. I greatly appreciate these occasions of meeting those serving on local bodies, for by this means I am brought close to the realities of every-day life in India, and may see for myself some of the difficulties you have to face, and the questions which you have to solve.

The Municipal address has given me a full picture of the members' activities. Charged with the oversight of an industrial town with a large and closely settled population, they are called upon to make special efforts, and they have much cause for satisfaction in what they have already been able to achieve. I understand that the water-works reorganisation scheme was undertaken from the Municipal Board's own resources, and I congratulate them on their energy and initiative. Good drainage is second only in importance to a pure water-supply, and this applies particularly to a city of this size and population. Members will not forget that in such matters they have a dual obligation, both to provide the necessary system and to educate the more backward of the population to take proper advantage of it, lest the misplaced conservatism of a few should imperil the good health of all.

Stress has been laid on the overcrowding in the town, and on the lack of housing accommodation. Elsewhere, I have pleaded for the ideal of providing every citizen, however humble, with a house that may be in a real sense a home. I believe that you are fully alive to the fundamental importance of Housing improvement, for I note

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

that you are rightly disturbed at the high death rate which prevails in your city. The figure for infantile mortality, standing at 420 per thousand, is, I am told, the highest in the Province, and must be a source of perpetual anxiety both to those charged with the city's administration, and those whose need for labour in their industrial undertakings is responsible for this congestion of human habitation. It is startling to think that this figure is more than six times the infantile death rate in London, where the rate is now only 68 per 1,000 and will, it is believed, be in future even lower if the hopes of health reformers may be realised. The rapid growth of your population and the stringency consequent upon trade depression have made it difficult to do as much as might otherwise have been possible. I fully recognise too that as administrators we may not be able quickly or easily to transform existing conditions into such as the needs of health or our own ideas would dictate. At the same time we all need ever to be on our guard against tacit acquiescence in conditions which are not only hostile to, but incompatible with, the elementary necessities of decent human life.

Reformers have been wont to speak of the "divine discontent" which might rightly influence the minds of the less fortunate classes of our fellow-beings. It is perhaps more right to emphasise how greatly the approach to better things depends upon the divine discontent which the well-to-do should feel at the prevalence of conditions by which a constant reproach is silently laid at the door of their society and social system.

I know that the large manufacturing firms have initiated valuable work in the field of child welfare, of which Lady Irwin and I have been pleased to have the chance of seeing something to-day. Her Excellency also visited this morning the two welfare centres in the city.

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

She tells me that she was much interested in all she saw, but says that she has little doubt that they could do still more useful work, if it was possible for them to be conducted in larger quarters. We both hope that this work will receive the constant support and sympathy of your Board. I would also hope that other large commercial interests here and elsewhere will follow the good example of the best employers in providing decent dwellings for their work-people. Public opinion will not to-day hold those who employ labour absolved from responsibility for the way in which that labour has to live.

In all business, labour is an important item in the cost of production, by which the profit or loss of any enterprise will be determined. But we can never afford to regard it merely in its impersonal character of a ledger entry. For men are human beings before they are labourers, and those who use their labour are morally bound to assist them to live as human beings.

I trust therefore that those who are confronted by this problem both from the side of administration and from that of industrial employment will continue to work together for the steady amelioration of matters with which they are alike concerned.

I may refer in this connexion to your request for a reconsideration of the proposal to include a part of the Cantonment area. That scheme was dropped not because the Government of India refused, as has been suggested, to approve the proposal, but because insufficient funds were forthcoming to meet the compensation necessary for the buildings and lands to be acquired from the Cantonment.

I note the expression of your desire to secure greater freedom from the control of Government in your local affairs, particularly on the financial side. I need hardly

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

remind you, gentlemen, that Local Self-Government is now a transferred subject, and the department is conducted by a Minister, who is responsible to the Legislature. Through the mouth-piece of their Member in the Council, the people themselves can decide the degree of control which should be properly maintained over the local bodies. Their remedy, if they consider one is needed, lies in their own hands. Speaking from a Western experience, I see at present little cause for complaint. A student of English Local Self-Government will find that in England substantial control remains in the hands of the central authority, a control which recent events there have shown to be no formality. At the same time I concur in the opinion that in these matters it is speaking generally desirable for the people themselves to work out their destiny according to the experience they have gained and you can rely on me always to give a most sympathetic consideration to their expressed wishes should the occasion arise.

I am particularly glad to receive an address from the members of the Cawnpore District Board also on this occasion, if only that I have this chance to assure them that though I may spend most of my visit in Cawnpore itself, the interests of the rural population are always in my mind. From the brief experience gained in personal study of the village life of India, I am beginning to realise a little of the manifold demands on the resources of a District Board. Success in this field too does not mean any diminution of effort; rather the increased development of a district entails added responsibilities.

I see, from the short account of the various sides of the District Board work, that these responsibilities are being tackled manfully. It is easy enough to say what should be done, but it is a far harder task to provide the means to carry these beneficent schemes into action. All

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

administration the world over is feeling every day the gulf between what they would do, and what their resources allow them to do. It is therefore refreshing to hear that the Board has decided that in order to gain added benefits they must ask their local tax-payers to provide them with more money. I congratulate the members on the sense of responsibility which they have displayed. Too often, I fear, local bodies shirk the odium they may incur in the minds of small men by calling upon their electors to open their purses. Crying needs thus go unheeded, and often result in a far larger outlay in the end.

You have touched upon several aspects of the Board's work, on some of which I should like to make a few observations.

I welcome in your address the expression of your desire to take steps to the end that medical aid should reach even the most distant village. The question of public health provision is vastly more difficult in scattered districts than in the centres of population—for, in addition to finance, you have to overcome the obstacles of finding suitable staff, and of organising and giving adequate supervision to their work. I am satisfied that there are few directions in which there is more useful work to be done, and I hope you will continue to give it an important place in your programme of development.

Conditions in India and the natural conservatism of the tiller of the soil have made the progress of education slow; yet I need not stress the fact that the chances of the success of any schemes for the improvement of agriculture in India will vary according to the standard of education among the agriculturists themselves. I note with pleasure the Board's record in this respect, and I do not doubt that the work of the industrial schools is facilitated by having

*Address of Welcome from the Cawnpore Municipality and
Cawnpore District Board.*

an industrial centre in the district. I especially congratulate you upon your wisdom in attempting to associate education with the every-day life of those who attend your schools, and to balance the intellectual training you give by useful practical instruction.

On the side of animal husbandry, I was especially interested to hear of the experiment in distributing imported livestock to improve the local breed of cattle. I shall not be surprised to find that recommendations for the improvement of India's livestock will be amongst those most strongly pressed by the Royal Commission on Agriculture when the report comes to be written. I trust the Board will be able to continue and strengthen this form of its activities.

I hope too that the necessity for good communications will not be overlooked. Roads are the arteries along which the life blood of a district flows, and the state of their roads is one of the outward evidences by which the efficiency of a District Board may be judged.

In conclusion I wish to say that I have noted with considerable pleasure the frequent tributes paid in both addresses to the help and co-operation of the Local Government. I am glad that such relations of mutual helpfulness should exist, and I have no doubt that those who direct the affairs of the Province will always be ready and anxious, as far as they can, to assist you in the performance of your duties.

I thank you once more for the kind reception you have given us, and I wish you all success in carrying on your important and many-sided work.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE
ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL BOARD AND ALLAHABAD
DISTRICT BOARD.

In reply to the Addresses presented by the Allahabad Municipal Board and Allahabad District Board at Allahabad on the 8th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

8th December
1916.

Gentlemen,—It has given me great pleasure to meet here to-day the representatives of the Allahabad Municipality and District Board, and to receive through them the cordial welcome of the people of this city and its neighbourhood, and I have to thank you for the permanent reminders of that welcome, which you have associated with your addresses. You have reminded me of my former visit to this holy city. My thoughts go back by way of contrast to that time when I came unheralded, more as one of your own pilgrims who throng here in their thousands, seeking the peace and contentment which Prayag brings to them. Even as they for ages past have found inspiration in the confluence of the two great waters, so may we to-day hope that from the blending of the two rivers of Eastern and Western civilisation a stream of mutual understanding may flow which will give new life and prosperity to India and her people.

The Municipal Board has prefaced its account of the work it is at present doing by a hint of excessive control by the Local Government. I said something on this point at Cawnpore a few days ago, and I do not propose now to add to those remarks except to say that the experience of countries which enjoy the greatest liberty goes to show that such liberty has not been thought to conflict with a certain degree of control by the central authority over local administration. Indeed I would go so far as to assert the doctrine that some such control is essential if the broad purposes and policies approved by the whole community, of which each locality forms part, are to be prosecuted and achieved.

Addresses of Welcome presented by the Allahabad Municipal Board and Allahabad District Board.

I have followed with interest your remarks on the problem of the Municipality's water-supply, as I watched with anxiety the dangers which threatened the city during the last rainy season, and with corresponding relief your successful efforts to overcome them. I can understand that the difficulties of reorganisation are to a large extent inherited, and that a new Rome takes more than a single day to build. But your words give me every reason to believe that the Board is now tackling the problem in real earnest, and I feel certain that at every step you will carry with you the practical sympathy of the Local Government and of your Governor, Sir William Marris, to whose able administration this Province owes so much. The grant of three lakhs of rupees and the further loan which Government have given in aid of the present scheme for the permanent improvement of the pumping system is a visible guarantee of their future co-operation.

You recognise, however, that the funds at the disposal of the Local Government are not inexhaustible. No public exchequer in these days can hope to meet all the claims which are made upon it, and if the maintenance of the local roads would seem to be a fair charge on the Municipal revenues, it may perhaps be possible for you to devise means of supplementing your own resources. Looking at the decline in the Municipal income receipts last year, I have wondered whether some reorganisation and improved system of control might not serve to place its finances in a more satisfactory position. Many of the difficulties too of the District Board might be solved, would it but harden its heart and increase its revenues by raising the local rates.

The Municipal Board is entitled to derive encouragement from the account which has been given of the progress made in education and medical relief, and is to be

Addresses of Welcome presented by the Allahabad Municipal Board and Allahabad District Board.

congratulated on the decrease in the death rate. The figures of infantile mortality are still high, and I trust you will spare no efforts to reduce them. Much here depends upon education, in the widest sense of the word, which may bring home to all your citizens the imperative need of taking all measures to raise the standard of civil achievement in these matters. I should like to see a healthy and vigorous competition between cities and Provinces for the pride of place in such social work. I am convinced that with no lavish expenditure of money, much could be done if you could mobilise for this purpose a great volume of public opinion that was determined to place their city or Province in the first rank of all India, as regards its health returns. The adoption by the District Board of the health scheme for the improvement of public health in the rural area is a promising sign, while the interest shown by the Municipality in child welfare and maternity work appeals particularly to Her Excellency, who is looking forward to her visit to the Baby Centre later in the day.

It is satisfactory to hear that the District Board intends to introduce compulsory education if funds permit. I hope however that you will not be satisfied simply with increasing the numbers of those brought within the range of education. If I can judge from figures, it appears to me that a great improvement is called for in the teaching both in primary and preparatory schools. For although $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of boys were reading in the infant classes last year, only some 36,000 passed through the full course of primary education.

In both addresses to which we have just listened, you have expressed certain apprehensions as to the future status of Allahabad as Capital of the Province and have complained that the Local Government no longer looks

Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.

upon this city as her favourite child. You no doubt recollect the assurances given last year by the Government of India regarding the transfer of the Capital, and it is difficult for me to say more than has already been said. But at the same time, gentlemen, I cannot but admire your persistence which shows a very healthy spirit of local patriotism. If I may offer you advice, it is, as I have just said, by translating this spirit into action that you can most securely maintain the position of Allahabad. You pride yourselves as citizens of no mean city. Let your works be worthy of that citizenship. Pile up solid arguments in the way of an ample water-supply, good roads, efficient drainage, wider education, and be able to point, as you will, to the results of these things measured in terms of human health and happiness. These combined with the natural advantages of Allahabad's position which you have detailed in your addresses will be the strongest of all arguments against the diminution in your status of which you are apprehensive. Your position will rest on the firm basis of self-evident realities rather than on the glories of the past. In this thought I am sure the Boards will find an incentive towards those ideals which should be in the minds of every worthy citizen, and in working for which they will assuredly find their best and most enduring reward.

OPENING OF THE SCHOOL OF MINES, DHANBAD.

9th December 1926. In opening the Dhanbad School of Mines on the 9th December, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Sir Bhupendra Nath, Dr. Pascoe, Members of the Governing Body of the Indian School of Mines, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to thank you on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the kind welcome which you have given us and I have to thank Dr. Pascoe for the felicitous

Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.

expression of that welcome which he has conveyed on your behalf. Dr. Pascoe's address has told us that this School, whose inauguration we are celebrating to-day, is the result of many years' consideration of the best method of solving not one but several problems. It is an attempt to provide in the first place a School of Geology which will rank with similar institutions in Great Britain ; it is to furnish a supply of trained men for the coal mining industry and for other mineral industries throughout India ; it is to help to solve the problem of recruitment of young men of this country for the Geological Survey of India and the Indian Mines Department. The conception is framed on generous lines and cannot fail to appeal to the imagination. The inauguration of the school has, through circumstances beyond our control, been delayed for six years since the final adoption of the proposals by Government. This postponement, regrettable as it is, has at least given me the opportunity of being present at this opening ceremony—an opportunity of which I have availed myself with great pleasure.

Dr. Pascoe has explained to us very clearly the importance of this new foundation both from the point of view of practice and of theory. As an eminent Geologist he has, not unnaturally, explained that aspect of the School's work which appeals most strongly to him, the opportunity for scientific study of Geology. When he was dealing with this subject, I caught a note of almost lyrical fervour. And indeed it is not difficult to understand his enthusiasm. There are few branches of knowledge which can compete with geology in providing a scientific training of the mind, the habit of close observation and correct inference, and in opening up at the same time the way to practical careers of great utility, bringing within man's grasp and making subject to his control the immense resources of nature. To the geologist again, as to few others, is unveiled the

Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.

immense panorama of history from far distant times. He thinks in ages, as we think in days and years. He finds sermons in stones, romance in granite blocks. In a fault in the hill-side he traces those unimaginable stresses and convulsions which have left the earth the shape we know it to-day. From all these points of view, scientific study, practical training, and imaginative interest, geology has few rivals. In India we have already no mean record. The Geological Survey of India has for many years been renowned for its high standard of achievement. Even before the days of Sir Thomas Holland and the late Sir Henry Hayden, it had secured world-wide recognition. Under their guidance it established itself even more firmly, and its reputation under Dr. Pascoe stands as high to-day. Not the least of the benefits which we hope for from this School is the continuance of that tradition and the increasing association of the picked youth of this country in the work of this fine Service.

On the other side of the School's activities, as a School of Mining Engineering and practical training in coal and metalliferous mining, we hope to see the results reflected in the development of Indian industries. This School will, we trust, be the training ground of many of those who are destined to take an active part in the development of the immense resources of this country. We hope that the students whom the School will turn out into the world of affairs will leave it not only with a grasp of scientific method but with a practical knowledge of the work which they will be called upon to do such as no other institution in India has hitherto been able to provide. It is with great pleasure that I have noticed the large number of applicants for admission to the School. I understand that in the past there has been some reluctance on the part of Indian boys to embark on technical studies, and it is a

Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.

hopeful sign that the opening of the School has elicited such a favourable response.

On the Governing Body we have representatives not only of the Local Governments of Bihar and Orissa and Bengal and of great educational institutions such as the Universities of Calcutta and Patna, but also of the most important associations interested in the Mining industry. Under their guidance we may be confident that the direction of the school will be on right lines, and that neither the scientific nor the practical side of education will be neglected. It is a proof to me of the interest taken in this venture that I see to-day so many representatives of the great business community of Calcutta, whom I am most glad to welcome, especially that doyen of Calcutta businessman, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerji, himself a member of the Industrial Commission, which recommended the creation of a School of Mining, and head of the great firm which has constructed this building. From his hands appropriately I am to receive the key which will unlock the door of our new Academy.

From everything that I have heard too I am certain that you have not exaggerated the value of having secured for this Institution the services as Principal of Dr. Penman. I gather that he brings to it that judicious blend of qualities which has long been the peculiar property of his race, and an object of envy, perhaps even sometimes the target of jealous satire, for those parts of Great Britain which lie south of the dividing Tweed.

In glancing through the Prospectus and curriculum of the new school I have been struck by the great variety of subjects with which the students will have to make

Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.

acquaintance. I have noted with special interest that a training in the field and frequent visits to collieries are included. To this I have no doubt you are right to attach importance, not merely because of the direct experience which will be gained therefrom, but because the students will have an opportunity to see for themselves the conditions of labour in mines, and to study some of the social problems which are of such vital importance to industry. If they can acquire a real intimacy with and a sympathetic understanding of such problems, the value of their future work for India will be doubled. I look with much hope to the School to develop in its students vigorous ideals of social service.

Coming as I do fresh to this country, a country old in history and tradition, but in some respects, especially in industrial development, a new country on the threshold of a great future, there is one thought which is very present to my mind. It is that for us in India industrial development brings a great opportunity. India is learning much from Western experience. She is developing industrially — as here inevitably she must develop—very much on Western lines. But with the material benefits which industrialism brings come also disadvantages and grave dangers. In Western countries the growth of industrialism has a history with many unpleasant and unkindly features. Those countries look back upon a century of struggle, upon a period when material progress had outstripped social ideals. The long history leading up to modern factory and mining legislation and to trade union development, is one long struggle of readjustment, of an endeavour on the part of social ideals to keep pace with mechanical efficiency. In that struggle for over a century social amelioration was ever behind hand in the race. In

Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.

recent years however, and especially since the War, a great advance has been made. Those who have studied, for instance, the record of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva, will realise the efforts that have been made in the last few years to promote schemes for raising the moral and material condition of the manual workers in industry, and to place the social standards of development in their due position side by side with mechanical efficiency.

In India we come to this question with the experience of Western countries behind us; there is no need for us to work through the painful stages of the industrial revolution and the years that followed it in England. This is what I mean by our opportunity. It is the opportunity to use the experience of others, and to start where they are now. But with this opportunity comes also responsibility. It is for us, for the young men whom this School will turn out, for the great employers of labour, who are represented on your Governing Body, and their fellows, to see that this opportunity is seized and this responsibility realised. Every country has, of course, its special difficulties, its special circumstances to consider. In India progress will not automatically or immediately follow precedent elsewhere. But India cannot remain permanently behind in the matter of social legislation and improvement of industrial conditions. What the experience of the World approves elsewhere must sooner or later, making due allowance for difference of conditions, find a place in our industrial code. In such matters, for instance, as the terms of employment of women and children, the hours and conditions of labour in mines and factories, the improvement of sanitation and housing of industrial workers; in all these matters and others, our opportunity is that we

Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.

have the experience of the older industrial world to help us, and our responsibility that we, the later starters in the industrial race, should not neglect or ignore what that experience can teach us.

It is on this note, the note of opportunity and of responsibility, that I desire to close what I have had to say. I regard the School as a great means for training on right lines the mental outlook towards social questions of the industrialists of the future, and its foundation in the first year of my office I look upon as of hopeful augury.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CENTRAL
NATIONAL MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION,
CALCUTTA.

11th Decem-
ber 1926.

H. E. the Viceroy replied to the Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta, on the 11th December, in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for the cordial welcome that you have extended to Lady Irwin and myself, and it gives me great pleasure to meet representatives of a community which forms so large a part of the population of this Presidency.

I am forbidden by the short time at my disposal this morning to follow you deeply into the history of the Moslems of Bengal. The failure of the Moslems nearly 100 years ago to adapt themselves to the introduction of English as the Central language, and their adherence to the old system of Persian education, no doubt retarded the

Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.

progress and development of the community. It is all the more incumbent on it now to make up the leeway, and it is in order to help them in this direction that Government have taken such measures as were in their power for the furtherance of higher Moslem education. A system of special scholarships has been created, and special hostel accommodation provided. A first grade Government Arts College for Moslem students has been opened in Calcutta with a staff mainly of their own faith, while a department of Islamic studies has been opened in the University at Dacca. It is for leaders of the community such as yourselves, to see that through the schools and colleges the Moslem should be guided to tread the road towards professional equality with his Hindu fellow citizens, and the more he seizes on the opportunities thus offered to him, the sooner will the whole community recover the ground lost by their earlier reluctance to take advantage of the new method of education.

The difficulties of the Muhammadan cultivators in Bengal, which you deplore, as those of his fellow agriculturists in other Provinces, are matters of deep concern to me, and I may take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude which Bengal, in common with all India, owes to the Royal Agricultural Commission for their indefatigable labours on behalf of Indian agriculture. But I do not think that you can justly attribute the backwardness of the Moslem agriculturist to the old policy of resumption proceedings which, except in a very few cases, did not deprive proprietors, whether Hindus or Moslems, of their landed property. These proceedings simply meant the assessment of revenue on lands hitherto held revenue-free on invalid titles. History shows that the Muhammadan law of inheritance and multiplicity of co-sharers, as well as the disinclination of Muhammadan proprietors to devote

Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.

themselves personally to the management of their estates, were more potent causes of the decline of the big Muhammadan families. But whatever may be the cause to which the depressed condition of the Muhammadan cultivator may be attributed, the problem before us all now is to ameliorate that condition ; and I need hardly say that in this field, as in many others, education is likely to be the most powerful instrument by which true progress will be achieved. I am glad to hear that the Departments of Agriculture and Industries are fully alive to the importance of encouraging the co-operative movement among landholders and tenants. Experience in Bengal has shown that organisations for the co-operative sale of agricultural produce must be on a big scale, particularly in the case of jute, owing to the speculative element in the trade and the rapid fluctuation in prices. It is encouraging to learn that new Societies on a large scale for the sale of jute and rice are being started, and that with the help of financial assistance from Government a central godown has been established in Calcutta to facilitate sales at the most profitable rates. In other directions too, such as by deciding disputes among their members by informal arbitration, Co-operative Societies are doing useful and valuable work. I understand that the Arbitration Board in the colonization area of Bakarganj District has been specially successful in this regard.

I did not fail to note the anxiety you expressed as to communal representation. It is too soon to foretell the lines on which the Statutory Commission will proceed, but I have no doubt that this question will be one of those which will claim their most anxious thought. In the meantime I can assure you that Government has no intention of making any change in the existing system, and I can safely go further by giving you the assurance that no such

Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.

step will be taken in future without inviting and carefully considering the views of all communities which are likely to be affected. I may, however, take this opportunity of reminding you that in dealing with the difficult question of Moslem representation, the Franchise Committee accepted the course, which was at that time generally urged upon it, of adhering to the agreement arrived at in the Lucknow Pact, an agreement to which the then leaders of the Muslim community were parties.

As regards the representation of the Moslem community in Government services, it is necessary for me to distinguish between the All-India and central services with which the Government of India are concerned and the provincial services which are under the charge of Local Governments.

In both cases, it has been and is the practice of Government to proceed upon the principle of endeavouring by some reservation of appointments to redress communal inequalities, and so to afford to each community an opportunity of taking part in the public service.

So far as the central services are concerned, the general practice of the Government of India is to reserve one-third of the vacancies for this purpose. I am sure that you all join with me in hoping that the necessity for this will gradually cease, and that as time goes on it may be possible to dispense with special procedure. It will clearly be far more satisfactory to all concerned that the Muslim community should be able, without any such exceptional provision, to secure a proportion of appointments to the services appropriate to its own numerical, political, and historical importance. It is my hope that each year may see them steadily progressing towards ability to achieve this result. Meanwhile, the rule to which I have referred

Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.

is designed to assist them, while they are by education and other means raising and strengthening their position.

I understand that analogous rules have been framed by the Governor in Council here in connection with various classes of provincial appointments. In some services, the Local Government has reserved the right to appoint Moslems up to as many as 45 per cent. of the vacancies in those services filled by direct recruitment. Similarly, in other provincial services which are recruited by competitive examination, separate lists of Muhammadan and Hindu candidates are maintained with the express object of preventing the exclusion of either of the two communities. It is hardly possible to attempt a strictly proportionate representation between communities in the public services, and the general policy of Government is directed not so much to securing any precise degree of representation as to avoiding the preponderance of any particular community.

I have said so much on this subject because I am fully aware of the importance you attach to it. But there are two things which I must add. The first is that it is not possible, and it would not be right, for Government whether central or provincial, to prefer communal claims before those of the efficiency of the public service. In other words whatever Government may try to do, in order to ensure to any community their due opportunity of service, their action is directly governed by the fitness of that community's candidates for the posts they seek to fill. This is why I so warmly welcome the stress you have laid on the importance of education.

The other thing I must add is this, and I have already said much the same thing by implication. I would most earnestly beg the leaders of all communities to regard

Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.

these devices of special representation in whatever field as a means to a great end, and not as an end in themselves. I have said before, but I will repeat to-day that if their underlying purpose of helping your community better to work for India is ever allowed to be submerged in any narrower loyalty, not only will that purpose itself be brought to nought, but these special safeguards would themselves become a new cause of those unhappy divisions, which they were designed to heal.

You have referred briefly to the existence of communal ill-feeling between the two great communities of India. I have already frequently deplored it. You have also rightly laid stress on the fine record of Indian Muhammadans in the past, and their aspirations for the future, but though it is natural that you should emphasise them, I hope that you will never allow yourselves to think it necessary to present them as inevitably antagonistic to the interests of other communities. On the contrary if anything is certain it is that the future of India depends on the reconciliation of the separate interests of various communities, and the growth of a wide national spirit that shall embrace all interests and all creeds. You referred a few minutes ago to the traditional sympathy which you conceive that I, as a member of the Conservative Party should have for Moslem aspirations in all parts of the world. I readily promise you that sympathy, but I should fail in my duty if I did not urge you, with all the emphasis at my command to realise those aspirations in India, not as a community whose interests do not extend beyond those of your co-religionists, but as an integral part of the great country which is yours. In so doing, you will be giving the highest proof both of your loyalty to the Crown and Person of His Majesty the King Emperor and also of your love for India who needs to-day the true and unselfish service of all her sons.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL NATIONAL
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA.

11th Decem- The following is H. E. the Viceroy's reply to the Address of
ber 1926. Welcome presented by the Bengal National Chamber of Com-
merce, Calcutta, on the 11th December :—

Gentlemen,—I am most grateful for the cordial terms in which you have welcomed Lady Irwin and myself, to the great city which is the centre of your Chamber's activities. As you truly say Calcutta is supreme in the commercial world of the East and you need have no doubt that I shall fully appreciate the many opportunities it offers to a Viceroy both of acquiring useful experience and enjoying its amenities. I have indeed been looking forward to coming into personal contact with the businessman of Calcutta and to getting the benefit of that keen shrewd point of view from which he surveys not only his own particular interests but affairs at large. It is of the essence of a successful man of business to take quick decisions, to estimate risks at a moment's notice, and his advice may always be counted on to contain a large measure of that valuable quality, common sense.

I am therefore very pleased to meet so early in my visit the representatives of the Indian mercantile community of Bengal. All through Calcutta's fascinating history, since its foundation by the enterprise of the old John Company merchants, runs a strain of close co-operation between British and Indian industry. Recent years have seen giant strides in the industrial development of India, and in this development Indian enterprise, Indian brains, and Indian capital have taken their full share. They have had their ups and downs and experience has often been bought at the cost of disappointment and misfortune. The aftermath of a world-war shook to the core those mushroom growths in which old accepted rules of

Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

trading were disregarded in the pursuit of quick returns. But the great variety and number of interests which your Chamber represents to-day are sufficient indication that public confidence still attaches to the well-established Indian concerns. The storm you have weathered is now low on the horizon, and I trust that a period of fair weather and favouring winds lies before you.

It is only a few days since I spoke at Cawnpore in some detail on the position of Indian trade and the policy of Government as regards its future development. I will therefore only say that, like you, I attach the greatest importance to the agricultural development of India with its inevitable reaction upon trade. I am following with the deepest interest the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture—though I may remark in passing that you wrongly attribute its inception to myself—and I may take this chance of acknowledging the great assistance which bodies like your own have rendered in preparing material for the Commission's consideration. It is hardly necessary for me, before an audience of business-men, to enlarge on the dependence of Indian industry on the agricultural well-being of the country. All the experience that commerce and industry can offer should be placed freely at the service of those who are striving to solve this important and many-sided problem.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the graceful reference you have made to my family associations with India and for the good wishes you have offered me in the task that lies before me. The next few years will, as you have said, be important years in Indian history. It is not for me to anticipate, even by conjecture, what may be the outcome of the Statutory enquiry which must take place in the near future, but I will reiterate my earnest desire that the passage of events between now and the date of that

Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.

investigation will be such as to justify the hopes of those who are most concerned to see the future of India established upon unshakable foundations. I have no illusions as to the difficulties which will beset this path, and it means much to me to know that in approaching them I am followed by those kindly feelings which your Association, in common with many other bodies, have been good enough to express.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MARWARI ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

11th December 1926. In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta, on the 11th December, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—It has given me much pleasure to receive an address from the representatives of such an important and influential section of the citizens of Calcutta, and I thank you warmly for the cordial manner in which you have welcomed Lady Irwin and myself. A few hours spent in Calcutta are enough to impress the visitor with the wealth and enterprise of this great city and the labour and activity on which its prosperity is founded. I suppose that no single community has taken a greater share in this sphere of city life than the Marwari, whose spirit of commercial enterprise has led him and his ancestors to leave the plains of Rajputana and seek their fortunes in distant parts of India.

You have touched on a number of subjects in your address, with some of which I have already dealt in recent speeches. I can well understand the interest which you take in the problems of currency and exchange, and I observe that you are anxious lest the recommendations of

Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.

the recent Commission should adversely affect the Indian agriculturist. You may be sure that my Government is fully alive to the importance of this question, and I need not repeat at length what I said at Cawnpore a few days ago to the Associated Chambers of Commerce. The stabilisation of the rupee will, I believe, greatly assist commercial progress by removing factors of doubt and uncertainty, while the concentration of the management of both currency and credit in the hands of the Reserve Bank should be of real and permanent advantage to the agricultural and commercial interests of India. You may feel assured that such interests are a matter of deep concern to me, and that I await with you the findings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in the full hope that they will show India the way to make fuller use of the great potential resources with which she has been endowed.

A re-examination of the present system of representation in the Provincial and Central Legislatures will be one of the first duties of the Statutory Commission, and I feel confident that, before making their recommendations, the Commission will give due weight to the importance of the adequate representation of commercial interests. I gather that at the present moment you are not too well satisfied in this respect. But I see that in the Bengal Legislative Council, your Association elects one member, and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, in which your community has a voice, elects two members. In the matter of nominated members also, the claims of your community have not been overlooked in the past, as is shown by the case of Mr. Khaitan in the last Bengal Council. On general grounds I welcome the interest you take in, and the importance you attach to, the work of the Legislatures. India has need of her best men in the Councils of the Nation, and commerce can offer her the

United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.

services of men whose experience will be of the highest value.

You have touched with a light hand on the topic of communal feelings, although, I know how deeply affected your community, like all others, has been by the deplorable events in Calcutta during the past year, and I propose to follow your good example. As you say, I have given earnest thought to the whole question and have tried to point out a path towards a permanent reconciliation. But I am the first to acknowledge that little can be effected from without, and that the cure for this evil must come from a change of heart within. I have already appealed to the better feelings of the two communities, and shall content myself with repeating once more the assurance that Government will maintain the public peace and good order before any other consideration. The more confidence that is placed by the two communities in this unshaken resolve of my administration, the sooner will both sides learn the futility of turning themselves into armed camps, and the sooner this regrettable tension will be relaxed and disappear.

I thank you again for the kind way in which you have received us, and I offer to the members of your Association my best wishes for their increasing prosperity in the future.

UNITED SERVICE CLUB DINNER, CALCUTTA.

13th Decem-
ber 1926.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Dinner given in his honour by the United Service Club, Calcutta, on the 13th of December :—

Gentlemen,—Among all the pleasant functions to which I have had the honour of being invited during my

United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.

visit to Calcutta, I think that this is one that stands in a sense alone. Indeed, it seems rather to partake of the character of a family party, as you are all members of those great Services with which I have the good fortune to be closely associated, and of which during my time in India, I may perhaps count myself an honorary member. I have been able in these last nine months to make acquaintances, and I hope friends, among members of every Service in India—civil and military, administrative and technical. I realise of course how little a Viceroy can really know of the ceaseless work which the Services are carrying on in every corner of India, but I know enough already to feel very sure that if, some years hence, I am able to look back to the time I have spent in this country, I shall feel very proud of my connection with those whose traditions and conduct have made their Services the admiration of the world.

I have seen it suggested more than once that the old type of Indian official has served his purpose, that the type, which made a good enough nurse for the child, has not the qualifications to be the companion and adviser of the growing man, and that a new brand is required, strong rather in parliamentary skill and political acumen than in old-fashioned, sound, administrative ability. Let us not be easily misled. New circumstances no doubt require the exercise of new qualities, but the old Services have shown that they can readily supply them. Nothing perhaps has made me admire the Indian official so much as the way he has adapted himself, in an incredibly short time, to conditions for which he had had no direct previous training and under which he never expected to have to serve. It may well be that we politicians have been accustomed to regard ourselves as specialists and to overrate the mysterious nature of our profession. But the

United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.

truth is that men are more important than politics, and the only thing that really matters is that men should be of the right sort, and I have no fear for India's future if we can continue as long as she needs them to offer her the service of the same breed of Englishman as hitherto.

In many ways the life of the British official is more difficult than it formerly used to be. Discharge of his duty may bring him under popular criticism, which can to-day through Press and Council make its voice freely heard. But while the servants of Government are none the worse for sound criticism, and such criticism is a wholesome corrective of all official action, it is the duty of Government here, as elsewhere, when criticism is misplaced, to defend its servants from it. Only a Government which can convince its servants that, when they have acted rightly, it will not hesitate to stand by them, can expect their support and retain their confidence, when called upon to deal justly, or it may even be severely, with its representatives when they have gone astray.

Just 50 years ago, a despatch of the Government of India, in commending the work of a great administrator, used words which, though referring particularly to the Frontier, might well be applied to our position throughout India. "It is by the every-day acts of earnest, upright English gentlemen that lasting influence must be obtained". Well : there is not much to quarrel with in that dictum to-day. A nation is judged by its public servants and it is to character that the Englishman has owed his authority in the past, and it will continue to be so in the future. I devoutly hope therefore that India will continue to attract as fine a type of Englishman as she always has, and I was delighted recently to hear how high was the standard of candidates this year for the Indian Civil Service.

United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.

Here I think is one way among others in which the retired Indian official may still serve the country of his adoption. It must be felt by many who see for the last time the Bombay lights astern that it is the finish of the chapter, the end of an old song. There is a sadness inseparable from the surrender of any task to which a man has been devoted. Stevenson in one of his essays speaks of a student who had just completed a study of the entire works of Carlyle. They told him that there was nothing more of that great thinker left to read. "What!" he said, "is there no more Carlyle? Am I left to the daily papers?" The story goes that Gibbon burst into tears as he wrote the closing words of his great history.

I can well believe that no man can feel this more acutely than those who have given the best of their lives in the service of India and feel that they are retiring to an uneventful life in England. But there is no excuse for such melancholy reflections. There is still plenty of work to be done for India by those who in India have done their work. Though no longer in official harness, every man may still do much by helping to create an informed public opinion on Indian questions and by inducing the best type of his younger fellows to try their future in this land of promise.

Each of you, I expect, has often been asked the question "Would you advise me to send my son into one of the Indian Services?" I know that a few years ago there was a regular campaign in England, against recruitment of English boys for the Indian Services. There was no doubt a partly justifiable apprehension that service in India no longer had the same financial attractions, the same rare liberty, or possibly the same security that it had a generation ago. One heard much of "the good old days"—that disheartening phrase which so strangely

*Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association,
Calcutta.*

comforts those for whom the present is wholly dark. I do not blame them, but it is fruitless to regret that the hands of the great clock of life move on, for such change is of the essence of all human things.

The last few years however have brought us to see these things in more true perspective. Never had India greater need of the best Englishmen than she has to-day. If there are to be fewer of them, it is the more essential that the fewer should be of the very best. And I can believe strongly enough in British character and initiative to feel confident that the Indian Services will continue to make, as they have in the past, their irresistible appeal to the best of British youth.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN
ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the
 14th Decem-
 ber 1925. British Indian Association, Calcutta, on the 14th of December,
 H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you all for the warm welcome and the good wishes which you have offered to Lady Irwin and myself. The eloquent and kindly address, to which I have listened with such pleasure, has the merit of being brief and to the point and in return I shall endeavour to compress my thoughts into as few words as I can.

I am told that the British Indian Association is the father of all such Societies in Bengal and probably in India. Three-quarters of a century is a long life for such a body, but I can see from the distinguished lists of your old and present members that its virility has been well maintained. I notice too that one of the objects of your Association is to establish on a stable basis healthy and satisfactory relationship between landholders and tenants, and in your address you have expressed your sincere

*Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association,
Calcutta.*

desire to live up to your creed. I trust that you will continue to do so, for you will be performing a real service to your country, a service which as democratic institutions develop, is likely to become more and more essential to the well-being of the country side. A dictionary might define a tenant as a man who pays rent to his landlord. But all good landlords know that their tenants are really in the nature of a trust, and that the obligations are more on the side of the landlord than on that of the tenant. A tenant's duty is done when he has paid his rent. A landlord's is not discharged until he has seen to it that his tenants have adequate housing, decent conditions of life, and the opportunities for education which will fit them to be useful members of their village and of the State.

This duty, as I have said, is more than ever incumbent on you to-day. For an improved standard of life and education will be one of the most convincing arguments for the political advancement to which, as you say in your address, the peoples of India aspire. In the feeling reference which you made to my grandfather's interest in India, you have expressed the hope that his grandson will show an equal sympathy when the re-examination of the Indian constitution comes before Parliament in due course. You need not doubt that my sole desire shall be to apply the experience I shall then have had of India to the best advantage of her people.

It is a great honour to me to acknowledge the loyalty which you have expressed to His Majesty the King-Emperor and to be assured that you too realise the high position which, I believe, India is destined to take as an integral part of the British Empire. You must have watched with considerable pride the ability and statesmanship which your President, the Maharaja of Burdwan, has

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

recently shown in the deliberations of the Imperial Conference in London. I have had the advantage of receiving reports of his activities from private sources, and I can assure you that the complimentary statements which have been made about him in the Press are meant in all sincerity and without exaggeration. His visit to England and his announcements during the Conference cannot fail to foster that mutual respect and dependence between the two countries which is so necessary for the true interests of both.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me wish your Association a continued career of usefulness. Your membership embraces a large variety of interests and should be in a peculiarly favourable position to give valuable opinions on matters of public interest in which, I understand, it is so often consulted. May I venture the hope that, whether your voice is unanimous or not, it may always be raised with due regard to all those obligations which landed proprietors, perhaps more than any other class, owe to the country in which they live.

DINNER GIVEN BY THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION,
CALCUTTA.

14th Decem-
ber 1926.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at a dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta, on the 14th of December :—

Gentlemen,—My first duty must be to thank you for allowing me to be your guest to-night. Even before I came to Calcutta I had heard much of your Association, and it is a pleasure to me to have this opportunity of meeting its members personally. It is particularly agreeable to me that I should here sit under one who was an old college friend of mine and who, I think I may venture to say, taught me in our college debating societies the

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

rudiments of public argument and debate. I remember very well that Mr. Langford-James showed, even in those days, many of the qualities of intellect and character that have no doubt inspired you to choose him as your President.

In the speech to which we have just listened he has touched upon many subjects, and if I do not follow him in them all, it will not be because I fail to appreciate their importance. What he has said rather confirms the impression I derived some months ago, when I met your representatives in Simla, as to the place in the Indian world of an Association such as yours.

This great city affords to anyone an opportunity of seeing the non-official European in full action, and of realising the problems and difficulties with which he has to deal and the spirit in which he sets about it. I would like, if I may, to say something from this angle about the work that I conceive it to be in the power of your Association to do.

Latter day events have necessarily focussed a great deal of thought upon the future political development of India. The movement of opinion and ideas that led to the declaration of policy in 1917 was not one of which the origin can be exactly traced ; nor is it to my purpose to unravel all the twisted strands of cause and effect that led on to this result. I am very well aware that while there were, and are, some who have entertained doubts of the wisdom of the actual structure set up as a result of that declaration, there are others who have sincerely felt even more fundamental doubts. To these last the whole venture of seeking to lead India to self-government through representative institutions has seemed to be a policy at variance both with historical tradition and with many hard realities

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

of the present day. To them I would only say that, whether Great Britain will ultimately be judged right or wrong in seeking to guide India along this path, it was hardly possible that she should have acted differently. The path of nations, as well as that of individuals, is greatly influenced by inherited character. Throughout all her own history, Great Britain has been the pioneer as regards the application of representative institutions to the science of politics. It is a commonplace to say that this is indeed the principal fact that she has contributed to the thought and practice of the world ; and if this is so, I suggest that it is not less ultimately incumbent upon her in those spheres of the world where she has influence to spread representative institutions, which are but the material expression of her own political thought, than it is incumbent upon a fire to radiate heat, which is, in similar fashion, the first quality of its existence. But while therefore I think that such radiation of political thought and practice was inevitable, it was rightly recognised by Great Britain that circumstances and conditions in India alike made it necessary to proceed along this path with prudence. The result of this is seen in the form of administration under which the affairs of India are conducted.

Now, as I have said, many persons, including perhaps some of your own Association, may have felt doubts, less far-reaching indeed than those to which I have just alluded, as to the method and time chosen for the new departure. It is the more clearly to their credit that they should have decided to throw their full weight on the side of supporting and justifying the new policy. It is of course not difficult to point to inconveniences and defects in the system which make it difficult to work with complete efficiency. In the realm of principle it is, for example, obviously true that power and responsibility

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

ought to go hand in hand, and that power is only safely exercised by those who have a sense of equivalent responsibility. If therefore at any time it is desired to give training in responsibility by the conferment of power upon those who have not hitherto enjoyed it, and if the counsels of prudence are that the full enjoyment of responsibility should only be reached by a gradual process, it is probable and almost inevitable that during this stage there should be some failure to reach the ideal adjustment of responsibility to power. Speaking of central politics, so long as there is in the hands of the Governor-General or Government of India some reserve power by which in the last resort they can secure what they conceive to be essential, it is evidently possible for popular representatives to escape the sense of responsibility that ought to accompany the power, even though only partial, which they exercise. Again, so long as the Government of India is not fully responsible in the strict sense of the word, it is impossible for parties or politicians to feel the salutary check of being perhaps compelled to replace in the task of government those who have been the targets of their criticism and attack. It therefore follows, as we have recently seen, that one of the principal distinctions between the different Indian parties is apt to be the degree of vehemence with which they assail the policy of Government. The latter, necessarily in great degree inarticulate, is presented as the common opponent of patriotic citizens.

These are real difficulties, and difficulties which, as far as I can see, are unavoidable so long as it is necessary to retain the final power in the hands of a Government not directly or wholly responsible to popularly elected representatives.

Few would be so bold as to hazard any very assured prophecy as to when the British Parliament was likely to

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

feel disposed to entrust full responsibility to India. I would however venture upon one or two observations. The answer to that question is likely to depend much more upon the foundations that India herself can lay for her own political development, than on any preconceived notions of the British Parliament. As I have already said, the whole instinct of Parliament, so far as it can claim to be the voice of British character, must be to wish well to India in this matter. But if Parliament is a well-wisher, it is also a shrewd and competent judge, and Parliament will, I suspect, realise that at the root of the whole question lies the problem of what I may call the average political sense of a wide electorate. An educated electorate, as Mr. Langford James has said, is the only sure basis of democracy. Without it politics are the possession of a small class of intelligentsia, and the leaders of political thought, who must be pioneers of political development, would be the first to recognise that in these conditions the political system, instead of resting broad-based on intelligent popular judgment, is insecurely poised on an inverted apex.

Let me relate what I am saying to the work of your Association. I know how much your members and those who are associated with you have already done in the way of either giving time themselves, or allowing others to take time, for political work. Business firms have been ready, at no small inconvenience to themselves, to spare their best men for work in the political field, and I trust that they will never grudge to India the services of those whose experience of the country fits them in every way to represent the best interests of their community. Mr. Langford James himself is untiring in this cause, and have admired the efforts which your able Secretary, Colonel Crawford, has made to bring to all the branches of the Association greater knowledge of the main issues

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

with which those who represent you in the Legislature at Simla or Delhi have to deal. I do not doubt that the interest shown by your Association in the proceedings at Cawnpore is largely due to the work he has been doing. And I should like to reinforce what I believe to be the thought of many of those, who serve the Association best, by appealing to you, and through you to your other members, never to conceive of Indian politics only as matters directly affecting, at particular points, European interests, but as a great business affecting the whole of India's future, to which you can bring qualities such as India can find nowhere else.

We have unhappily witnessed in the last few months a deplorable exhibition of communal narrowness and animosity. Let there be nothing communal in the European outlook on Indian politics, but let it rather be inspired by the determination to take that share in the moulding of events for the good of India, to which by knowledge, experience, and responsibility you are entitled.

Some of you will remember the last public words spoken in India by one who was perhaps the greatest Viceroy of modern times, who had so warm an affection and admiration for this city, and of whom it can be said, if it can be said of anyone, "*nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*". He was speaking of the true work of Englishmen in India and there is a ring in his words which must be my excuse for repeating them to you to-night. "To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of his ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape,

Bengal Club Dinner.

to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he is gone."

Our hand is in sober earnest on the plough to-day. It will need a strong hand, a willing team, to drive the furrow straight ; it is uphill work and there are roots and rocks in plenty to turn the blade aside. Each and all of us need firm faith and sane enthusiasm if we wish to carry through successfully the task to which we have set our hand.

It is because this Association has done so much already to assist Indian growth, because they have brought to the land of their adoption those gifts of determination, honesty and initiative, to which Mr. Langford James referred, and because in the years to come their opportunity of service may well be greater and not less than it has been up to now, that I feel particularly grateful to you for having afforded me this opportunity of meeting you, and of thanking you, not only for the welcome you have given me, but for the promise of your loyal co-operation and support.

BENGAL CLUB DINNER.

20th Decem-
ber 1926.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Dinner given in his honour by the Bengal Club at Calcutta on the 20th of December :—

I must begin by thanking you, Mr. President and gentlemen, for your kindness in inviting me to be your

Bengal Club Dinner.

guest to-night. The Bengal Club has long been famous for its hospitality, and I am delighted to have the opportunity of tasting its pleasures for myself. I understand that the Club is on the eve of its hundredth birthday. I should like to congratulate it on this happy event and I hope that its bicentenary will find it in the same flourishing condition that it is in to-day.

You, Sir, have referred to the early history of this City and to the energy and vision of your predecessors which raised it, laboriously, painfully, surely, to the place of honour in the British Empire which it holds to-day.

We are so apt, in unreflecting acceptance of the present, to forget the past, that it is wholesome sometimes to turn our eyes backward. And I suppose that our Imperial records contain no greater romance than that which surrounds Calcutta's creation and Calcutta's growth. It is from the so-called "Factory" of the first days of British settlement, which men once pointed to with pride, that has sprung the Calcutta which we now know. We see her with her vast population, with all the equipment of great and varied industrial undertakings, her streets, her offices, her markets, and her wharves, all concerned with the carriage of merchandise to and from the four corners of the earth, and all bearing witness to the place which Calcutta has come to occupy in the intricate world of business by which we exist to-day. In no other part of India is it possible for a Viceroy to meet so many of those who are prominently identified with the country's commercial interests, and history here seems to challenge an answer to some deeper questions, which underlie the passing issues of the hour.

Since I have been in India I have constantly asked myself the question, which I suppose is often present to all our minds, namely, in what light will what the British

Bengal Club Dinner.

have done or tried to do in India be ultimately judged ? Such a question was definitely posed to me the other day by our visitors from South Africa, and the fact that they should have so questioned me perhaps shows that the answer is not as plain as we are often tempted to suppose. How far can we claim to have fulfilled the postulate of Burke, who, you will remember, in his famous speech on Fox's India Bill laid down a fundamental doctrine which, however familiar to the present generation, must have sounded strangely in the ears of many of those who listened to him. " All political power " he said " which is set over men ought to be some way or other exercised ultimately for their benefit " and he went on to say that the rights and privileges derived therefrom " are all in the strictest sense a trust ". I know no place which more directly suggests the propriety of answering such questions than this city, so closely allied with all the early beginnings of British rule and, thanks largely to Lord Curzon, so rich in historical memories of it.

We are all familiar with the fortuitous character of the first beginnings and establishment of British rule in India, and it is not now necessary to dwell upon the gradual substitution of order for chaos, or on the replacement of turmoil by tranquillity. For many years no doubt the principal efforts of British administration were directed along lines of promoting and securing the interests of trade and commerce, and I imagine that most of the blemishes on early company rule were attributable to the imperative instructions of directors, urging their representatives to earn them the wherewithal with which to meet the shareholders' desire for dividends. From such modest and hazardous beginnings has grown that great structure of commerce, internal and external, which many of you represent and which holds so important a place in

Bengal Club Dinner.

the life of India. This commercial adventure, as at first it was, necessarily attracted increasing attention from the politicians. I have already mentioned Burke's enunciation of a doctrine that was to take the British Empire very far. The attention of Parliament was not infrequently directed to India in its debates, and it was from the political side that the great change finally came which witnessed the transfer of the old rights and obligations of the Company to the Crown. It is also certainly true that in these latter years it is the side of political evolution that seems to have engrossed the major part of the attention of Government and the public. You in Bengal have your full share of political activity, and you will allow me here to pay my tribute of respect to the manner in which Lord Lytton, whose services Bengal is so soon to lose, has faced great difficulties with all that sense of responsibility, courage and candour which his friends and every one who knew him would have expected of him.

But everywhere the atmosphere is thick with discussion on constitutional reforms ; oratory is plentiful, and some might be forgiven for thinking that the steady and solid achievements of the past were in danger of being submerged under a new avalanche, of a type with which India has not hitherto been familiar. They may even feel that the machinery of Government is standing still to watch the result of this new political venture, content to see things slide and to sacrifice what they have been accustomed to regard as the most efficient administration in the world to the necessity of training new classes in power and responsibility. I am far from saying that such an attitude is unintelligible or unnatural. None the less I feel that it is a very dangerous misapprehension of the truth, and that we should be making a huge mistake if we supposed for a moment that politics and the play of political forces were the sum of the contribution that

Bengal Club Dinner.

Government was at this moment making to India's future. It is indeed true that in regard to these we have expressly undertaken commitments to the Indian peoples, which we shall to the best of our ability fulfil, but that in no way absolves us from the obligation of constantly attending to other matters which make for India's welfare.

May I say a word to you about two directions in which Government is to-day striving to discharge the duties of its trusteeship? For those obsessed with the idea that Government is no longer a dynamic but a static force, I could prescribe no better remedy than a tour to the North-West Frontier. It is difficult to conceive of a greater contrast than that presented by the settled life we know here and what has hitherto been the uncertain and precarious existence of the frontier, for so long, through history, the postern gate of the keep of India. Its atmosphere of blood-feuds, forts, barbed wire, is difficult of apprehension unless we see it for ourselves. It is indeed a different civilisation, and one, it must be confessed, whatever its disadvantages, of possibly greater and more arresting daily interest than the one which we are seeking with such success to establish in its place. No one who visits it, and sees for himself the barrier of rugged and cruel hills, the stalwart Pathan, whose rifle is an indispensable article of otherwise exiguous every-day apparel, can fail to appreciate the meaning of the roads and railways and all the organisation, political and military, which are bringing peace and order into that troubled land. Once there you feel that Government has not lost its old grip, that progress is real and that we are in fact still achieving something which justifies British rule.

It is only a few years, as you will remember, since Waziristan was the centre of grave trouble involving difficult and costly military operations. Within that short space of time a great change has come over the spirit of

Bengal Club Dinner.

the dream. I give you one figure to illustrate the change. Four years ago 131 raids were carried out by gangs from independent territory in the North-West Frontier Province. The following year the figure had dropped to 74 and last year to 31 ; while in the first seven months of the present year we have only recorded 9. We have not forced upon the tribes any exasperating regulations, that would merely antagonise people who worship the individual but doubt the authority of the law. We trust rather for our influence to the name of British justice and to the personality of the British official, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which they have justified that trust. Their monument may rightly be said to be the same as that which Sir Christopher Wren drew from St. Paul's Cathedral ; "*Si quaeris monumentum circumspice*".

If anyone were still unconverted by the work of political reclamation proceeding in these areas under the Union Jack, I would ask him to come with me to those parts of Northern India where the engineer is using his technical knowledge to convert dry, thirsty, desert soil into land bearing food and material for the use of man. I was fortunate enough two or three weeks ago to visit one of these canal colonies in its earlier stages, where I was able to see this useless and unwanted waste, side by side with land of similar quality a few yards away, which on the 1st of June last had had its first drink of irrigation water and was, six months later, covered by splendid crops. Much of the colonisation of the Punjab is now ancient history, and we may almost be tempted to forget that where there are now prosperous villages was once devoid of vegetation and empty of human life. But every year the work goes on, and bit by bit we see the green line of cultivation pushing its way forward into the dusty brown of desert. I confess that I felt, after seeing these two fields of present-day

Bengal Club Dinner.

activity and effort, that here was Government in all its vigour and that here was something as close akin to creation as it is given to man to do.

Well, gentlemen, I have taken you a long way from the plains of Bengal and from the comfortable hospitality of this Club. What connection you may wonder has all this with your own lives and work? To my mind the connection is not far to seek. These activities, which I have attempted to describe, are nothing to me but the logical continuation of that restless energy, which has steadily radiated through India from the earliest centre of British power and initiative—Calcutta and Bengal; and I suggest that it illustrates the importance, if we are to judge progress in India truly, of judging it as a whole.

At the risk therefore of appearing to fall a victim to self-satisfaction and complacency, I feel able unhesitatingly to assert that our record in India is one on which the historian will return a favourable verdict. I know very well how many are the obstacles by which the growth of India to-day and during the next years is likely to be beset. She needs wise counsel to help her in surmounting them, the counsel of friends who neither flatter nor decry. To turn a blind eye to her weaknesses is no true friendship. But when we criticise let our words be free from any sting of bitterness. Let us be careful to fan no flames of controversy, but seek always with cool reason and warm sympathy to strive for the realisation of India's hopes and ours. If we can keep untarnished our faith in India's future, we shall not fail to convince India that we can still help her to achieve it, and that the contribution we can make, though it may be different, will not be unworthy of the achievements of the past.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENARES MUNICIPAL BOARD AND THE BENARES DISTRICT BOARD.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Benares Municipal Board and the Benares District Board at Benares on the 4th January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I greatly appreciate the cordial welcome extended to us by the Members of the Municipal Board and of the District Board in the addresses which have just been read. Both addresses referred, as was both natural and right, to the history of Benares and to the special sanctity with which the name of Benares is invested, and my only regret is that my visit is perforce too short to allow me to see more than a small part of all that your city has to show. The restfulness of Kashi is indeed a strange contrast after the din and bustle of the great towns in which I have recently been living. Politics, industry, commerce, all seem alike unable seriously to disturb the underlying atmosphere of contemplative calm, which pervades this place. I read somewhere recently an impression of Benares as being held aloft on the trident of holiness. I shall have this picture in my mind as I visit your shrines and holy places in the next day or two,—and long afterwards when I look back upon these days spent in the heart of Hindu India.

The duties, however, with which your own bodies are immediately concerned, are rather those of the more material side of life, although the problems of administration which you all have to face have a peculiar variety and importance through the very privilege of having a religious metropolis in your midst. Both Boards have to tackle formidable difficulties in housing and communications, created by the ebb and flow of a large population from whom little return in the shape of a direct income can be expected. At the same time you have to pay due regard

*Address of Welcome from the Benares Municipal Board and
the Benares District Board.*

to the interests of the ratepayers whom you represent by providing those amenities of life which they have a right to expect.

The Municipal Board in their address have been modest, I might almost say pessimistic, in speaking of their efforts to meet this double responsibility unaided. You will, however, realise that I am not in a position to give any promise of direct financial aid from the Government of India. The added privileges of local self-government bring corresponding charges in their train, and the decentralization of the collection and expenditure of public money leaves no funds in the hands of the Central Government for direct grants to municipalities.

I trust however that the goal is not beyond the limit of the Municipality's own endeavours. The Board's normal expenditure, I hear, is now below its income. Two of your big schemes, the electrification of Benares and the improvement of the water supply, are well in train. I am informed that the Local Government have given a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs towards the latter object, and I trust it will not be long before the needs of the city as regards these two important matters of administration are fulfilled. The greatest difficulty lies perhaps in the state of the drainage system. Apart from the dangers to the population arising out of defective conservancy arrangements, I have been sorry to hear complaints of the pollution of the Ganges water as it flows past the sacred ghats. There is a saying that cleanliness is next to godliness, and I am convinced that every pilgrim to Benares would gladly spare a modicum of his offerings to see his holy city and its river preserved pure and unsullied. Surely it is not beyond the power and genius of the religious authorities, if not the Board itself, to devise some means of enabling

*Address of Welcome from the Benares Municipal Board and
the Benares District Board.*

such feelings to be translated into action. You have already a number of philanthropic institutions, which compares favourably with any city in India, such as the Ram Krishna Mission of Service and many others. I feel sure that by voluntary subscriptions much could also be effected towards preserving intact the outward glories of Benares.

I gather from the District Board's address that their problems are similar to those of the Municipality, but spread over a larger area, and are in the same way affected by the presence within their boundaries of a centre attracting pilgrims of every kind from outside as well as from within India. It follows that many amenities of life, important enough in the ordinary way, become here vital needs. Again, though I am aware that the present Board has done all in its power to restore its finances to a satisfactory condition, there is the complaint of lack of money, which all governing bodies feel now-a-days constrained to make. Although grants from Government amount to two-thirds of the Board's income, the fact unfortunately remains that this income is inadequate to cover ordinary expenditure. This inelasticity of income has been ascribed to the Permanent Settlement. Whatever there may be to be said for and against this view, I am glad to hear that the Board have finally decided to steel themselves to raise new revenue, though I recognise that even then it is improbable that you will be able to provide for all the needs of your District as you would desire. All the more care is therefore necessary to allot the expenditure to objects which will give the greatest benefit to the greatest number, and to conserve as far as possible your resources for some large minded and wisely conceived scheme, rather than to expend them, as many bodies are apt to do, on a number of minor objects none

*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library of the Benares
Hindu University.*

of which are likely to effect permanent improvement in the daily lives of your inhabitants.

Gentlemen, though your task is difficult, your addresses show me that you are fully alive to your responsibilities, and that in itself is an indication that you will continue to do your best to discharge them worthily. I am particularly glad to hear of the devoted service which has been rendered by your respective Chairmen : service which must mean considerable sacrifice of the little leisure which the ordinary day's work affords. From the wider point of view the work which is being done to-day by local bodies is of very great importance. By success or otherwise in small things, a nation may be judged in the greater, and no one who gives his service to such work need ever feel that his labours are thrown away. In the problems you are called upon to solve, in the debates which are held amongst you, in the decisions you take, in the responsibilities you bear, in the hundred and one calls which the administration of your charges makes upon your powers, the same qualities are demanded of you as of those who direct the wider world of politics. But to you I imagine your best reward will be to make the setting of this sacred city worthy of the precious stone within.

It has been a great pleasure for me to have met you personally here to-day, and I thank you once more for the friendly reception you have given to Lady Irwin and myself.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE LIBRARY
OF THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

4th January
1927.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the Library of the

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library of the Benares Hindu University.

Benares Hindu University at Benares on the 4th January :—

Mr. Vice Chancellor and gentlemen,—I thank you sincerely for the welcome you have offered to Lady Irwin and myself. Almost 11 years ago Lord Hardinge, in laying the foundation stone from which this great institution has risen, expressed the hope that the University might come to be a place of many sided activities, prepared to equip young men for all the various walks of life. His hopes have not been belied. Those who have directed the growth of this University—and I know how much the University owes to its Vice-Chancellor—have laid their plans wisely and pursued them well. In the choice of their site and the character of their buildings they have striven to create the real academic atmosphere, impalpable but always powerful to influence the minds of those who are brought within its range. They have afforded opportunities for the study of a wide variety of subjects, intellectual and practical, theological and scientific, adequate to give a young man the mental equipment he needs to face the manifold problems of life. They were, I believe, the first to adopt here the organisation of a residential teaching institution. Your system of housing the different departments, with their hostels in separate contiguous buildings, allows not only for specialisation in study but also for a common social life outside the class. And both are of the essence of the real University life. Those of us who were fortunate enough to receive our education at one of the English residential Universities know how much of what we learnt there was learnt not from text books or in the lecture room, but from contact in our own rooms and in the course of every day life with our fellow undergraduates.

This finely conceived and finely executed plan is therefore very bright with promise. It can well claim to be

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library of the Benares Hindu University.

an all-India University, for it draws half of its 2,000 students from outside the United Provinces, and it is built on a scale in keeping with the area of its appeal. Your Vice-Chancellor has told you of the large sums of money already spent in building and equipping the University and has employed all his most persuasive arts in the attempt to elicit further sympathy in practical shape from the Government of India. I have had no opportunity, since he told me the matters to which he had it in mind to refer, of making enquiry into the reasons that might weigh with Government in the consideration of the requests which he has made. I can therefore say no more at present than that I shall make it my business to give personal and careful attention to these matters. But inasmuch as the financial heart of all Governments in these difficult days is proverbially stony, may I perhaps utter the one word of warning which will find place in my speech to-day, that, however praiseworthy the object, I trust that expenditure will not outrun the University's means. I greatly hope that the debt, towards the reduction of which the Government of India has this year sanctioned a grant of 5 lakhs, will soon be cleared, and the finances of the University be placed on a permanently satisfactory footing.

The new library, however, of which I am, at your kind invitation, to lay the foundation stone to-day, has had special funds provided for it through the generosity of a benefactor. Your University is fortunate in having as Chancellor a man to whom appeals for educational purposes are seldom made in vain. A few years ago H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar gave a donation of a lakh of rupees to the general funds of the University. He has recently given a similar sum as an endowment for scholarships to enable Science students of the University to continue higher

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library of the Benares Hindu University.

studies at foreign Universities. He has now followed his own admirable example by giving another lakh for the construction of this library. The whole library building is expected to cost 5 lakhs, but His Highness' generous donation has enabled the work to be begun. The building is so planned as to admit of large future extensions, as the Council wisely recognise that a University library must ever grow. It is appropriate that the central portion which is to be taken in hand at once should be called the "Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Library" in honour of the benefactor who has made its inception possible.

The library when completed will supply a very real want in the University. The dispersal of the present collection of books over several separate rooms and the lack of any reading room are indeed serious drawbacks. No University is complete without its library. There is something in a library of books, whether old or new, which you find nowhere else on earth, a sense of communion with the thought of all the ages, a feeling that you have around you a store-house on which to draw, as the fancy takes you, for inspiration, knowledge, or consolation.

You remember the lines of the poet Southey on his library :—

My days among the dead are passed :

Around me I behold,

Where'er these casual eyes are cast,

The mighty minds of old.

My never failing friends are they

With whom I converse day by day.

To a man who loves his books, his library is a home of his own which he can furnish according to his tastes, a

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library of the Benares Hindu University.

world of his own which he can people with his friends. His circle of friends is ever widening, and, once made, they are friends for life.

I think that perhaps never more than at the present day was there greater need for developing among the youth of this—as of any other—country the taste for general reading. A University student, with examinations looming large before him, must perforce devote much of his time to the reading of text books, and must specialise on the particular branch of study which he has undertaken. He is no student if he does otherwise. But to be a ‘full man’, in Bacon’s words, his reading must take a wider sweep. Above all he must search out for himself the books or the passages which strike a chord in his mind and are henceforth destined to influence his life and his thought. If we have to trust the opinion of others as to what is good in literature, we shall never make much progress. The perverseness of the human mind is ever apt sometimes to make us approach with a hostile feeling the book which we have been told is ‘the best ever written’. Not that we should blindly discard advice. It is remarkable how general is the consensus of opinion on the world’s greatest books. But when we read a book we should make up our own minds first, which parts of it appeal to us, by stimulating or making articulate trains of thought hitherto only existing in our subconscious mind. It is well to mark these passages and return to them again and again. We shall often find that our first judgment was wrong in the light of further experience. We may feel that our idea of their standard of value has changed. But by exercising our own judgment we have added something to our stock of wisdom which we could have attained in no other way. We should vary our reading too. In

Banquet at Benares.

unexpected places we make discoveries. In a line from a poet, a sentence from a novel, we are 'stung by the splendour of a sudden thought' which will carry us through life. It is no bad plan to read two types of book concurrently—one for pure pleasure, poetry, novels, memoirs—the other as discipline, as an astringent to the mind, philosophy, social science, theology, economics. You thus acquire that mental balance without which knowledge can seldom be of great value either to yourself or to others. I speak not without a sad consciousness that I am preaching what I seldom have the chance of practising—but none the less I hope one day to have time to read again, and meanwhile I know that my advice is sound, and contains a great secret of the real interest and happiness in life.

Many of those I am now addressing will have gone out into the world before the building, which is to rise upon the stone I am now to lay, has reached completion. But whether you have the opportunity or not to profit by the advantages it will offer, I hope that all those who are now passing or shall hereafter pass the precious years of youth within this place may be inspired to repay the intellectual gifts that they have here received by service in many fields, and win for themselves the title of honoured sons of an honoured University.

BANQUET AT BENARES.

In responding to the toast of his health at the Banquet given in his honour by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares at Benares on the 4th of January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

4th January
1927.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you Your Highness on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the kind words with which you have bidden us welcome

Banquet at Benares.

to your State, and proposed the toast of our health. We are both most grateful to Your Highness for having given us the opportunity of visiting your territories, and for the manner in which you have entertained us. I am well aware how many calls there are on Your Highness's hospitality, for Benares exercises a magnetic attraction upon the world, and few distinguished visitors pass through this city without experiencing the comforts of Your Highness's well appointed guest-house at Nandesar.

It is pleasant to hear Your Highness reiterating the assurance of loyalty which has always distinguished the Ruling House. In the years before us, as Your Highness has said, the whole question of the position and function of the States in India and in the British Empire must inevitably be faced. It is a question which, in the interests alike of the States and British India, stands in need of the best thought that can be brought to bear upon it. Whatever the solution may be—and its solution will not be as easy as some might seem to think—its essential basis will be mutual agreement and confidence between the States and British India, and I am therefore glad to see that Your Highness so clearly recognises the interdependence of the two. Your Highness may be certain that I shall be ready and anxious to do whatever lies in my power to secure that this matter is dealt with in such fashion as may best assist the States to take their rightful place in the future life of India. I feel sure that any opinion which Your Highness may at any time offer on this problem will be as frank and sincere as that which you have just expressed on the general subject of the Reforms.

It would be an ill return for your generous hospitality that I should speak at length on the constitutional changes that were introduced in India seven years ago, and that will presently be the subject of statutory review. They

Banquet at Benares.

have had many critics, and Your Highness is, of course, not alone in thinking that India was not ripe for the action which Parliament approved, and that the British Government of that day acted with undue precipitancy. I was a member of the House of Commons at that time, and I very well remember the careful and exhaustive examination of which these proposals were the subject. Therefore whether what was then done will be ultimately judged wise or unwise, it would be unjust to Parliament and the British people to suppose that they failed to weigh the issues involved with becoming gravity. It is certainly true that the result has been by no means free from disappointment, and it will be the duty of the Statutory Commission to examine the whole position with impartial thoroughness, in order to satisfy itself that the foundations on which we seek to build are sound. But I can entertain no doubt that Great Britain and India can and must continue to work together for the good of both, and that the collaboration of Great Britain is an essential condition of India's evolution.

I share Your Highness's regret that it has not been possible for me to spend more time in acquainting myself with the organisation and progress of your State, for I have heard much of the sound character of Your Highness's administration. Your solicitude for the well being of the cultivating classes is no secret, and is instanced by the very reasonable charges for irrigation which are, I believe, if anything below the economic level. Your capital of Ramnagar too, with its admirably equipped hospital, electric supply, and other features of modern development, is well on the way to becoming a model town. Much of the secret of Your Highness's success lies, I suspect, in the generous treatment you accord to your officials, and the wisdom with which you select your public servants from

Banquet at Benares.

men whose experience, whether gained in your own State or in British India, renders them fit to carry out your policy.

It is with great pleasure that I have learnt of the ability and wisdom with which Your Highness has handled any communal dissension which threatened to arise, with the result that your State has been almost wholly free of trouble of this kind. The personal touch which Your Highness maintains with your people and their affairs, whether in private life or in public Durbar, has been the means of enabling you to win, in striking degree, the confidence of your subjects.

I sincerely trust that Your Highness may be spared for many years to support your responsibilities with all your present vigour. Years have been kinder to Your Highness than to most, though, I know, it must largely be due to your own rigorous physical training that you have preserved that vitality which many a younger man might envy. Few men, I think, can have celebrated the passing of their allotted span of three score years and ten by starting out on a lion-hunting expedition, as Your Highness did last year to the West of India. I shall count myself very fortunate if I can, when the time comes, emulate Your Highness's achievement. We all hope, Your Highness, that you will live to shoot many more lions, and to welcome many more Viceroys to Benares. My own visit, alas, has been all too short. But Lady Irwin, I, and all your guests shall carry away the happiest recollections of all that we have seen, of the host under whose auspices we have seen it, and of all those whose acquaintance we have been fortunate enough to make.

I will now ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to rise and drink to the health and prosperity of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

ADDRESS FROM THE KASHI SUDHAR TRUST, BENARES.

H. E. the Viceroy addressed the Deputation representing the Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares, in the following terms :— 5th January 1927.

Gentlemen,—When I was asked by the Members of your Trust to receive this deputation, and when I heard the reasons which had prompted you to lay your case before me, I need hardly say that my interest and sympathy were keenly aroused. For the thought that the sacred buildings of Benares should be in danger of damage and destruction was enough to disturb not only the minds of those in whose religion Benares holds so exceptional a place, but also of many like myself who, members of other religions, know that it has for ages been an object of the deepest reverence to the whole Hindu community. The name of Benares has become one of the world's household words, and no visitor to India would deem his visit to be complete until he had seen the river front of Benares. Men have come from far distant lands to see the place where Gautama Buddha first preached his gospel, and to look on the city whose countless buildings, clothed with the mantle of history and sanctity, have for centuries been an inspiration to the great Hindu religion. It hardly therefore, I think, requires an assurance from me that the preservation of this holy city is and always will be a matter of the deepest concern to me.

Let us now come to the less romantic facts. I may first dispose of a question which is really a separate problem and has no connection with the damage to the ghâts. I refer to the pollution of the Ganges water. I am told that an excellent intercepting drain, which was built several years ago, has been allowed to fall into partial disuse, and that if it and other drains already constructed are put in proper repair, there is no reason why the river should not flow on untainted. This is a

Address from the Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares.

matter on which it would seem that the Trust should first approach the Municipal Board, in whose hands the primary responsibility for the drainage of the city rests. Your Trust could, I think, give valuable assistance to your cause by organising public opinion to realise the importance of strict conservancy administration, and by encouraging the Municipal Board to make the fullest possible use of existing drainage.

As regards the question of danger to the ghâts, I am told that the damage, which the river front has suffered, has occurred over a long series of years, and that there are two main reasons for it ; the blocking of the sub-soil water by buildings along the front, and erosion by direct action of the river. The former danger may perhaps not be difficult to meet, but to guide the waters of a mighty river like the Ganges at Benares must of necessity be a very expensive and possibly a hazardous enterprise. It has, I understand, been estimated that the protection of the ghâts against the action of the river will cost not less than 30 lakhs, and the wayward strength of a river is so incalculable that it would not be safe to limit the possible expenditure even to this figure.

You no doubt realise, gentlemen, the magnitude of the work you have undertaken, and your enterprise in seriously taking up this question is greatly to your credit. Your first duty, as it appears to me, is to gain the confidence of the public. You must satisfy them that the scheme is one which will bring credit to themselves and to you, and in which the money they subscribe will not be uselessly thrown away. The first step towards gaining this confidence must be to carry out a thorough and expert survey of the threatened area and to prepare an estimate

Address from the Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares.

of the cost of protective works. I invite the Trust therefore to confine its efforts in the first instance to raising funds for a survey which, though expensive, could, I understand, be carried out for a sum of Rs. 50,000. I have received an assurance that as soon as the requisite funds are raised, the Provincial Government will gladly supply a competent officer to carry out the expert surveying work. I hope that towards raising this preliminary sum your Committee will accept, as evidence of my interest in your work, a small subscription from myself.

The completion of the survey will of course be only the beginning of your real task, and we cannot for the present say with certainty what funds will be required. But I have no doubt that you will agree with me when I say that the ultimate expense involved in this great work should, in fairness, be mainly a charge on all Hindu lovers of Benares. Until the critical work to which I have referred has been completed, it is hardly possible for me to give practical consideration to the question of Government assistance ; and it is evident that any such assistance would of necessity be conditional upon the state of public finances and upon the amounts previously subscribed by private persons. I find it difficult to believe that if your Trust can satisfy the Hindu community as a whole that the need is an urgent one and that you are determined to the utmost of your ability to carry through the work to which you have set yourselves, Hindus of every class and whatever their circumstances would not joyfully subscribe to save the city to which their thoughts so often turn. I can assure you that in all the efforts you may make to accomplish the purpose to which you have set your hands, you will carry along with you my warm interest and good-will.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BHARAT DHARMA
MAHAMANDAL, BENARES.

5th January 1927. H. E. the Viceroy made the following reply to the Address of Welcome from the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal at Benares on the 5th of January :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the welcome you have offered me. I feel that it is not so much perhaps a welcome to this sacred city, in which your Association appropriately enough has its centre, as a welcome on the part of the whole brotherhood of Hinduism. For yours is a body which, drawing supporters from many parts of India and from many different walks of life, has one common bond, which you truly recognise as superior to, and wider than, time or place, in the tenets of the great Hindu religion.

I thank you too for your assurance of loyalty and devotion, those instinctive sentiments of your creed. Fidelity to the ruler, loyalty to established authority, have always been cardinal tenets of the Hindu faith. And even as they have from ages past been one of the foundations of your religion, so in the world of the present day they are vital sources of strength not only for your own community, but for the whole of India.

Next to loyalty you have laid emphasis upon respect for social order. This feeling, I suppose, is the counterpart in public life of that reverence for family tradition, that insistence on family discipline, which are such striking features of Hindu life. Their value was never more apparent than to-day, when many forces are tending towards the dissolution of ties on which society has long depended. There is indeed no part of life which can claim immunity from one of life's general laws, that to seek so-called liberty in separation from any idea of authority and discipline is to betray the principal purpose of existence. As you have implied, neither the individual

*Address of Welcome from the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal,
Benares.*

nor society can afford to confuse liberty with license ; for though we but dimly apprehend it, we all instinctively realise, whether in nature or in ourselves, that life is controlled by law, and if by our conduct we deny it, we are imperilling the reality of life itself. It is therefore satisfactory to know that your Association representing as it does all that is best in Hindu orthodoxy, is never likely to throw aside lightly traditions which have stood the test of time. Orthodoxy, as you most truly say, is not or ought not to be stagnation, and should in no way be antagonistic to the progressive realisation of new ideals and new desires.

There is much in the social life of India, which stands in dire need of reformation, and I trust that there will be an increasing number of loyal adherents of your great community, who will be found willing to devote unselfish service to these social causes.

You speak of the harm that has been done and is still being done by the divorce of education from religion, and there can be few thinking men, of whatever creed, who would not share your views. The object of all true education is to build character, and character ultimately depends upon the moral sanctions which a man or woman accepts as final in his or her daily life. Such sanctions are found most surely in religion, and if we neglect the place of religion in education, we are rejecting the most powerful instrument to assist us in our work. But the question how far, or by what means, it is for Government to effect the union of the two, raises, especially in India, far reaching issues on which I would give no hasty verdict. I can however promise you that any scheme which your Association may ever wish to bring forward will be considered by my Government with all the care and sympathy which such an important subject has the right to claim,

Banquet at Rampur.

You have dwelt briefly on the communal dissensions which we have recently had such unhappy occasion to deplore. I repeat the hope that the whole Hindu community may approach the question in the same wide spirit of toleration for which your Association strives. May it bring to a consideration of the problem the same vision with which your own "Temple of All Religions" aims at the establishment of a true world peace between all countries and all creeds. For it is by seeking, as your Temple does, the points of agreement—and there are many—between religions, and not by emphasising and distorting the points of difference, that religious communities can best hope to find the way to real and lasting peace. The last few years have seen human effort more and more directed towards the attainment of world unity in the sphere of politics, and your Association has the satisfaction of knowing that it is working on lines analogous to an organisation which is surely destined to have a profound influence on the future of mankind.

Let me again thank you, gentlemen, for your welcome and your address, and assure you of my interest in the aims of your Association and of my readiness to further in any way that I can the beneficial activities of your members.

BANQUET AT RAMPUR.

6th January 1927. H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Rampur on the 6th January :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to thank Your Highness for the very kind manner in which you have proposed the toast of Lady Irwin and myself. We had, as Your Highness has said, immediately

Banquet at Rampur.

after our arrival in India, the pleasure of making a brief acquaintance with Your Highness in Delhi and with true Indian hospitality almost your first words were an invitation to visit you in your State.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we have taken advantage of Your Highness' kindness, and I may, I am sure, on behalf of all his guests who are here to-night, offer to His Highness our united thanks for the abundant hospitality with which he has entertained us and for the personal trouble I know he has taken to ensure our comfort.

We have all listened with deep appreciation to Your Highness' expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The whole history of Rampur echoes that assurance. A century and a half of loyal and constant friendship to the British Crown is guarantee that on this theme Your Highness employs no empty phrases. The tradition which Your Highness' ancestors founded so long ago was worthily maintained in the dark days of the Indian Mutiny and carried on throughout the Great War, when Rampur was never known to begrudge assistance to any appeal that was made to her. I feel sure that I can continue to rely on Your Highness' staunch assistance to Government whether in War or peace, and I have recently been greatly pleased to hear of your ready co-operation with the United Provinces Government in helping their special police to run to earth the gangs of professional criminals who were using the State as a base of operations against British India. It is in great part owing to Your Highness' help and to that of your Inspector-General of Police Sahibzada Abdul Majid Khan that their depredations have now been terminated.

Another passage in Your Highness' speech which afforded me great satisfaction was the reference to the

Banquet at Rampur.

cordial relations which exist between Your Highness and the British Officials with whom Your Highness' State is concerned. I can well believe this, for there is perhaps no quality in a man better calculated to win the approval and friendship of the British official than frankness in speech and action. And these are traits which I well know belong to Your Highness' character. Those who have known Your Highness best have always been struck by the sincerity with which you tell them what you really think, and by the loyalty you show to your personal friends, among whose number I hope that I may count myself.

I am glad to hear from Your Highness that you are fully alive to the educational needs of your people and to the advantage of developing your State with roads, canals, and colonisation schemes. For it is by the prosperity and contentment of your subjects that Your Highness' rule, as every other, will ultimately be judged. I hope that your new schemes will be found to lend themselves to those advanced methods of agriculture which, I think, are likely to be the solution of many of the difficulties which beset the Indian country-side to-day. The improvements which Your Highness has effected in the town of Rampur itself are patent to everyone. The latest of all, which, I understand, was constructed to Your Highness' own design, is the new block of the Khas Bagh Palace. I am indeed grateful to Your Highness for the great efforts which I know you have made to have it ready for my visit, and I can assure you that the comfort and pleasure that it offers to its inmates well repay all the trouble you have taken.

Architecture is not the only of the arts in which Your Highness shows your interest. The Rampur Library which you showed me this morning is well known to be one of

Naming of the Imperial Airways Aeroplane.

the first in India and among its collection of 9,000 manuscripts are many of which no other copies exist in this country. It is fortunate to find in the person of Your Highness a generous patron of the Arts, who is both student and collector, and who is steadily adding to the reputation it has already gained.

I will not detain you longer. I will only assure Your Highness of the deep personal interest I take in all that appertains to the welfare of the States of India.

I would now ask the company to rise and drink to the health of a good ruler, a good host and a good friend—His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

NAMING OF THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS AEROPLANE.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the ceremony of the Naming of the Imperial Airways Aeroplane at Delhi on the 10th of January :—

I am very pleased that I should have been asked to take part in this ceremony. A voyage such as Sir Samuel and Lady Maud Hoare have achieved carries our thoughts back to journeys in earlier days between Europe and India, when the slow-footed camel and beasts of burden carried Indian merchandise across the old land route to Southern Europe, when men made the discovery—amazing in those times—of a sea route to India, and finally succeeded in shortening the journey by the canal which severs the Asiatic continent from Africa. Many people looked to railways as the next obvious step in speeding up the communication between England and India. But the air has forestalled them.

The political, commercial and social implications of this new development of travel are obvious enough and I need not elaborate them. Sir Samuel Hoare stated a day or two ago that India, by virtue of her size and geographical position, might well become the air centre

Opening of the Council House at New Delhi.

of the East, and I see no reason why in the course of time his prophecy should not come true.

When that time comes, India will look back and remember the day when this machine first landed in the city from which it is now to take its name. This Imperial City has been the goal of many journeys and many adventures in past history. It is fitting that it should give its name to the aeroplane whose journey has opened a new page in its history and has added one more to the many roads which lead to Delhi.

I know that I utter the thoughts of all present to-day when I wish good luck and safe voyaging to the aeroplane which I now invite Lady Irwin formally to name.

OPENING OF THE COUNCIL HOUSE AT NEW DELHI.

18th January 1927. In opening the Council House at New Delhi on the 18th of January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before proceeding to the ceremony which Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has asked me to perform, it is my duty to announce that I have been honoured by a command from His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor to read a message which he has been graciously pleased to send. It is in the following terms :—

“ Fifteen years ago in Delhi, I gave public expression to the hope that the great changes then to be effected might bring increased happiness and prosperity to India. On this solemn occasion I desire to associate myself with the outward completion of a great part of the task then undertaken. The new capital which has arisen enshrines new institutions and a new national life. May it endure to be worthy of a great nation, and inspire the Princes and

Opening of the Council House at New Delhi.

people of India with ideals of brotherhood and service, by which alone the peace and true prosperity of my subjects may be secured. I earnestly pray that in the Council House about to be opened, wisdom and justice may find their dwelling place, and that God's blessing may rest upon all those who shall henceforth serve India within its walls.

GEORGE R. I."

We gratefully acknowledge the desire of His Majesty to unite himself on this occasion with the Princes and peoples of India as yet one more example of the constant and intimate interest in their welfare, which he has always shown. I am certain that the sentiments, to which His Majesty has been pleased to give expression, will awake a new echo of loyalty to his Person and Crown throughout the whole Indian Empire.

The occasion of our meeting to-day is one that reflects many of the deepest and strongest feelings of our human kind. Throughout the ages men have ever sought to give visible shape to ideas that have enlisted their devotion and respect, and, by so doing, to protect them from oblivion and decay. Thus men have been moved to find permanent embodiment in material form for their highest ideals of religious and civic life in order that they might thereby hand down to future generations the spirit and traditions of the past. Here in India, and not least in Delhi, we have around us eloquent memorials of bygone days, and it is fitting that it should be in this place, on a spot hallowed by tradition and dear to Indian sentiment, that we should be inaugurating the first of the great buildings of our New Capital.

The noble design of Government House, the magnificent stretch of the Central Vista we owe to Sir Edwin Lutyens,

Opening of the Council House at New Delhi.

who from the beginning has taken the leading part in the creation of this city. To him and to Sir Herbert Baker, the author of this great building and of the Government of India Secretariat, as well as to the Chief Engineer and those who have worked with him—to whom Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has rightly given praise—I desire to extend our grateful thanks. Nor will any think me lacking in appreciation, if I say that those to whom the work was entrusted will have succeeded in their task, if the buildings of this city may be counted worthy of the historic environment in which they have been set.

But it is not merely on the architectural features of this building, which the Hon'ble Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has described, it is not on the labours of the builders, that I wish especially to dwell this morning. I would ask you for a brief space to allow your thought to pass through this building to that of which it is the visible and external sign.

Since the King-Emperor laid at Delhi the foundation stone of the New Capital of India, great events have brought us through an infinite variety of experience, in which anxiety, sorrow and disappointment have struggled for the mastery with faith, determination and hope. India took her full share in this stern conflict, and under its impulse, here as in many other parts of the world, we have witnessed the emergence of new forces and new aspirations. The development towards responsible Government in India under the British Crown can indeed be traced far back in the history of British rule in India, but it is in these latter years that by the Declaration of August 1917 definite and explicit recognition has been given to the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government is to be directed. This day brings home to

Opening of the Council House at New Delhi.

us with especial significance the reality of this declaration of intention. In the earlier design of the new city such a building as this had found no place, and its inclusion is the natural issue of those constitutional changes, from whose loins the deliberative bodies, in future to be housed within its walls, have sprung. Therefore this Council House will stand as the outward expression of the set purpose and sincere desire of the British people, and the opening of its doors would appear to be the most appropriate ceremony with which to inaugurate the new centre of the Government of India. But this is not all. If the war was the parent of great movements in the political thought of men, it taught us in clear language how intimately the ties, which unite India with her sister nations of the Empire, depend upon the fact that they are woven round the common centre of allegiance to the Crown. Only through that allegiance to its head does each member of the Imperial body preserve its individual nationhood, and simultaneously achieve firm and enduring unity with its fellows. It was thus a noble conception of the architect to give form to this idea by housing within one circle the three bodies, the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State, and the Legislative Assembly, signifying thereby the unity not of British India only, but of all India under the Imperial Crown.

But the circle stands for something more than unity. From earliest times it has been also an emblem of permanence, and the poet has seen in the ring of light a true symbol of eternity. May therefore we and those who follow us witness, so far as we may, the fruition of these twin conceptions. As our eyes or thoughts rest upon this place, let us pray that this Council House may endure through the centuries, down which time travels towards eternity, and that, through all the differences of

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

passing days, men of every race and class and creed may here unite in a single high resolve to guide India to fashion her future well.

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE THIRD
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

24th January 1927. H. E. the Viceroy made the following address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly on the morning of the 24th January :—

GENTLEMEN,—

It is my pleasant duty to-day to welcome you to the opening Session of the 3rd Legislative Assembly and to wish you well in the labours you are about to undertake. Since I last had the honour of addressing you, the elections have wrought their changes, but, although we miss the presence of some whose faces and names were familiar in the last Assembly and in the wider political life of India, I am glad to see that many have returned, whose experience in previous Houses will be of great value in the important deliberations which this Assembly will be called upon to undertake.

To-day you meet for the first time in your new and permanent home in Delhi. In this Chamber the Assembly has been provided with a setting worthy of its dignity and importance, and I can pay its designer no higher compliment than by expressing the wish that the temper, in which the public affairs of India will be here conducted, may reflect the harmony of his conception.

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

As regards external affairs, there is only one matter to which it is necessary for me to refer. As Hon'ble Members are aware, the situation in China has been the subject of grave anxiety. Attacks have recently been made on the lives and property in the various treaty ports of the mercantile communities, which include many Indian as well as British subjects. Certain Settlements have already been evacuated under pressure and the property of the residents extensively plundered. Other and even more important areas are similarly threatened, and His Majesty's Government have reluctantly decided that it is their duty to send reinforcements to China to protect the lives of those for whose safety they are responsible. Having regard to the fact that India is the nearest part of the Empire in which forces are available for immediate despatch, the Government of India have agreed to co-operate in this purely defensive action by contributing a contingent, including Indian troops.

Public opinion throughout the world has lately witnessed the enlightened action that has been taken to bring to an end the conditions of slavery previously existing in Nepal. Hon'ble Members will have welcomed more recent examples of the same humane movement, provided by the action of the Khan of Kalat within his territory, and by the measures taken only last month by Government to stamp out slavery in some of the outlying territories situated close to the Burmese frontier.

A few months ago I had the opportunity of visiting another of India's frontiers on the North-West, and of seeing for myself evidence of the improved conditions which there prevail. I trust that the policy which my Government has been pursuing for the last four years in

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

Waziristan will continue to prove of benefit both to the independent tribes and to the adjacent parts of British India.

When I addressed the Indian Legislature on the 17th August last, I stated that the Union Government had agreed to hold a Conference at Cape Town with representatives of the Government of India, in the hope of reaching a satisfactory settlement of the Indian problem in South Africa.

The delegation, appointed by my Government and generally accepted by Indian opinion as representative, sailed for South Africa on the 24th November, and on arrival received a most cordial welcome from both the Government and the people of the Union. The Conference was opened by the Prime Minister of the Union on December 17th and closed on January 13th. As Hon'ble Members have seen from telegrams that have appeared in the Press, a provisional agreement has been arrived at between the delegations of the Indian and Union Governments, which will require ratification by the respective Governments.

Hon'ble Members will share the satisfaction of my Government that Sir Muhammad Habibullah and his colleagues, again happily assisted by the devoted and unselfish labours of Mr. Andrews, should have succeeded in reaching an understanding which, as we may hope, will lead to a settlement of this long-standing problem. Those who recall the difficulty that this question presented a few months ago will feel that the new aspect which it has assumed reflects high credit on those who have represented the two countries in these discussions. Our

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

delegation have already left South Africa and are due to arrive in Delhi on February 6th. Pending their return and the receipt of their report, I am not in a position to make any announcement regarding the provisional settlement that has been reached. It is intended to publish the results of the work of the Conference simultaneously in both countries, and in regard to the date of such publication we are bound to consult the wishes of the Union Government. My Government will not fail to give the Chambers of the Indian Legislature an opportunity of discussing the matter at the earliest possible opportunity.

I now turn to the announcement made by my predecessor on the 9th February 1926 in the Council of State conveying the decision of His Majesty's Government to re-constitute the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force, thus enabling India to enter upon the first stage of her naval development, and ultimately to undertake her own naval defence. Lord Reading pointed out that much constructive work had to be done before the Royal Indian Navy could be inaugurated. I am glad to be able to say that considerable progress can already be recorded. The Bombay Dockyard has been busily engaged on the equipment of the Depot Ship, and only one sloop remains to be acquired in order to complete the initial strength in ships. Details of recruitment, organisation and finance have been worked out, and the most important of the proposals of my Government under these heads are already in the hands of the Secretary of State. The necessary legislation in Parliament will be carried through, I hope, early this year. My Government will then be in a position to introduce legislation to provide for the discipline of the new force ; and, when

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

that legislation is passed, the Royal Indian Navy will come into existence.

A recent event of outstanding interest has been the arrival in India of the Secretary of State for Air in the first of the great air-liners sent out to this country by the Imperial Airways Company. In so far as India is concerned, this development of aviation marks the introduction into the country of a new form of civil transport. India is a country of vast distances, but aviation annihilates distance as it has hitherto been reckoned. The increased speed of air-transport, coupled with the facilities which it offers for surmounting geographical obstacles, will be a potent factor in shortening the communication of India with other countries, and also in linking up her own widespread Provinces, thus drawing them more closely together as members of a single nation.

As the House knows, there are several financial and commercial matters, with which we are at present concerned. After a series of balanced budgets the Government of India may justly claim to have reached a strong financial position, with their credit firmly established both within and outside India. While securing this result, for which India owes a real debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, Government have been able to abolish the Cotton Excise duty, to reduce the salt-tax and to extinguish a considerable proportion of the Provincial Contributions. During the present Session, in addition to the annual Finance Bill, legislative measures will be laid before you to give effect to the principal recommendations of the Currency Commission.

A Bill will also be placed before you, based on the recommendations of the Tariff Board as regards protection to the steel industry. The declared object of our

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

protective policy is that ultimately the protected industries should be able to stand alone and face world competition unaided, and it is by this criterion that the success or failure of the policy will be judged. The remarkable progress made at Jamshedpur since 1924 affords reasonable grounds for hope that, before many years have passed, steel will be made as cheaply in India as in any country in the world, and that the need for protection will disappear. But it is necessary, if capital is to be attracted to the industry, that manufacturers should be assured for a reasonably long period of the continuance of the basic duties applicable to imports from all countries. The Board however are, I think, right in forecasting that after seven years the time will have come to review the position afresh, and ascertain, in the light of the circumstances then existing—not whether the industry deserves protection, for that question has been decided—but whether it still needs it.

The Tariff Board, which was specially constituted to consider the claim to protection of the cotton industry, is, I understand, about to submit its report, and my Government will seek to arrive at a prompt decision on the issues involved.

I turn now to topics of a more general character, which must necessarily occupy a prominent place in all our thoughts.

This Assembly is of particular importance inasmuch as within its life-time must be undertaken the Statutory enquiry, prescribed by the Government of India Act. This fact is my excuse—if such be needed—for speaking frankly on some aspects of the general situation. But, before doing so, I desire to make my own position and that of any Governor-General plain.

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

As long as the final control of Indian policy is constitutionally vested in the Secretary of State on behalf of Parliament, it is the duty of the Governor-General, while he holds his office, to guide his conduct in conformity with the general policy approved by the Imperial Government. Just as in Parliament, however, Indian affairs are with foreign policy rightly held to be 'outside ordinary party controversies, so a Governor-General as such has no concern with British party politics.' It is his duty with his Government to seek faithfully to represent to the Imperial Government what he conceives to be India's interests, and he must count on the help of the Legislature to enable him to do this fairly. On the other hand, it is possible that he may be able to help India by telling those who represent her in her Councils, from his own knowledge, of the manner in which, and the angle from which, the judgment of Parliament is likely to be formed.

I do not ignore the fact that there is a section of opinion in India which rejects the right of Parliament to be the arbiter of the fashion or the time of India's political development. I can understand that opinion, I can acknowledge the sincerity of some of those who hold it, but I can devise no means of reconciling such a position with the undoubted facts of the situation.

But there is another section of opinion which, while hesitating to prefer so fundamental an objection to any right of Parliament to be the judge of these matters, would yet say in effect that it was indefensible for Parliament to exercise its judgment in any sense but that of granting to India forthwith a wide, if not a complete, extension of responsible power.

The distinction between these two lines of criticism is narrow ; for Parliament would be no real judge if

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

its title were held to depend for sanction upon the judgment that it delivers, and it is scarcely possible to impugn its right to deliver a free verdict, without challenging its title to sit in judgment on the case.

I have not infrequently been told that the problem is psychological, and that many, if not most, of our present difficulties in regard to pace and manner of advance would disappear, if it was once possible to convince India that the British people were sincere in their professed intention of giving India responsible government.

It is difficult to know in what way one may hope to carry conviction to quarters which remain unconvinced. I have already stated my belief that, whether what the British People has sought and is seeking to do in India will be approved or condemned by history, their own inherited qualities left them no alternative but to open to India the path in which they had themselves been pioneers, and along which they have led and are leading the peoples, wherever the British flag is flown.

Moreover, in the success of the attempt to lead a friendly India towards self-government, the self-interest and the credit of Great Britain before the world are alike engaged, and forbid her to contemplate with equanimity the failure to achieve a purpose which has been so publicly proclaimed. Every British party in a succession of Parliaments, elected on the widest franchise, and therefore representing in the widest possible manner the British people, has pledged itself to the terms of the 1917 Declaration. They have implemented those terms by legislation, and thus given practical proof of sincerity by introducing wide and far-reaching changes into the structure of Indian Government.

From those undertakings no British party can or will withdraw, and, although the British race may lack

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

many excellent qualities, they can afford to remain unmoved by charges of bad faith, which their whole history denies.

But, it is said, the alleged sincerity of Parliament receives practical contradiction on the one hand by arbitrary executive acts such as the detention of certain men without trial in Bengal, and on the other by the reluctance of Parliament to give a firm time-table for the completion of its loudly professed purpose of making India herself responsible within the Empire for her own government. The first question concerns the exercise of that executive responsibility which must rest upon any administration, however constituted ; and, though I am well aware of its political reactions, it is a question which must be dealt with on its merits, and has no direct relation with the general question of constitutional advance. For constitutional forms may vary widely, but the maintenance of law and order is the inalienable duty of all those on whom falls the task of Government. And indeed the action, of which complaint is made, is solely due to the fact that Government has had good reason to believe that those now detained had rejected the way of constitutional agitation for that of violent conspiracy, and that to put a term to their dangerous activities was essential.

I share with all Hon'ble Members the desire to see an end to the necessity for the continuance of these measures, but the guiding principle in this matter must, and can only, be the interests of the public safety. Nor is the matter one that rests wholly or mainly in the hands of Government. Before releases can be sanctioned Government must be satisfied either that the conspiracy has been so far suppressed that those set at liberty, even if

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

they so desired, would be unable to revive it in dangerous form, or, if the organisation for conspiracy still exists, that those released would no longer wish to employ their freedom to resume their dangerous activities. Government have always made it clear, and I repeat to-day, that their sole object in keeping any men under restraint is to prevent terrorist outrages, and that they are prepared to release them the moment they are satisfied that their release would not defeat this object.

The other main ground for challenging the sincerity of Parliament is based, as I have said, upon the general method of approach that Parliament has adopted towards the problem of Indian constitutional development, and as regards this, I wish to speak more fully.

Those who are anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce Parliament or convince it. I cannot emphasise too strongly that in this matter they are not likely to succeed in coercing Parliament, and that Parliament will resent the attempt to do so, under whatever shape the attempt is made. Moreover, it must inevitably be gravely disquieted by language, which appears to be inspired by hostility not only to legitimate British interests, but also to the British connexion. Nor is this feeling on the part of Parliament the mere selfish desire to retain power that it is sometimes represented. Parliament believes, and in my judgment rightly, that, as it has been placed by history in a position to guide and assist India, it would be definitely defaulting on these obligations if it surrendered its charge before it was satisfied that it could be safely entrusted to other hands.

Parliament therefore will be rather inclined to examine the practical success or otherwise that has attended the attempt it has made to solve the problem. It will

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

be quite ready to believe that there are features in the present arrangements which can be improved—and it will be ready to improve them. What it will not understand is the line of argument which says that, because the present foundations for future responsible government are alleged to be at fault, this is necessarily to be remedied by immediately asking those foundations to bear the entire weight of the whole edifice we desire to build.

When Parliament invites India to co-operate in the working of the reformed constitution, it does not invite any Indian party, as it was authoritatively stated the other day, to lay aside for the time being its demand for Swaraj ; it does not desire that any party or individual should forego the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition to any action that Government may take ; but it does invite Indian political parties to show whether or not the ultimate structure, which Parliament is seeking to erect, is one suitable to Indian conditions and Indian needs. If it sees any large section of Indian opinion, however vocal in its desire to further the cause of Indian self-government, steadily adhering to the determination to do nothing but obstruct the machinery with which India has been entrusted, Parliament is more likely to see in this evidence that the application of Western constitutional practice to India may be mistaken, than proof of the wisdom of immediate surrender to India of all its own responsibility. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction that a considerable part of the political thought of India has not allowed itself to be dissuaded by criticism or opposition from endeavouring to work the new constitution with constructive purpose. Those who so guide their action are in my judgment proving themselves the true friends of Indian constitutional development.

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

Parliament is likely to judge these matters as a plain question of practical efficiency. It will be less interested in the exact legal and constitutional rights granted by the reforms to the Indian Legislatures than in the extent to which these Legislatures have realised their responsibilities and duties. It will be quite willing to recognise and make allowance for the limitations placed upon Legislatures by the existing constitution ; but it will be genuinely puzzled and disappointed if it finds that a good part of ten years has been wasted in a refusal to play the game because some of the players did not like the rules. Propaganda in favour of altering the rules in the early stages of the game will have little effect on the mind of Parliament, but, on the other hand, it will certainly be influenced if it finds the Indian Legislatures exercising their responsibilities, albeit limited, in a spirit of service to India, and tacitly assuming always that their real responsibility is greater than that which is expressed in any Statute.

For Parliament has spent hundreds of years in perfecting its own constitution, and knows very well that it has only grown into what it is to-day by the steady use and extension of the power, at first limited, but by custom and precedent constantly expanding, which it contained. There was a time in Canada, when the religious differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics were supposed to constitute an absolute bar to full self-government, but after a few years, owing to the good sense of the Canadian Legislature, the very real powers of the British Parliament to intervene were silently allowed first to fall into desuetude and then to disappear. Parliament knows too that it is by this means that every one of the Dominions has obtained fully responsible self-government, finally leading, as we have seen at the last Imperial Conference, to a wide revision of the letter of constitutional rela-

Address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly.

tions previously prevailing between the several Governments of the Empire.

What then is the position ?

If we concede, as I ask we may, to British and Indian peoples sincerity of purpose, we are in agreement on the fundamental matter of the end we desire to reach. There may be, and is, disagreement over the ways and means of reaching it ; but it is surely a strange distortion of perspective if we allow our conduct to be unduly influenced by differences on issues, which are after all only incidental to the main issue on which we are agreed.

Here, as in other human affairs, evolutionary progress can be realised in two different ways, between which we have constantly to make our choice. Either we can search out points of agreement in the final purposes which inspire thought and action ; or, rejecting these peaceful counsels, we can follow the way of conflict where agreement is forgotten, where disagreements are exaggerated, and where the fair flowers of mutual understanding and trust are overgrown by the tangled weeds of suspicion and resentment. In many directions and throughout many centuries the world has made trial of the last, and, in sore disappointment at the results, is coming painfully to learn that the way of friendship may be at once the more noble and the more powerful instrument of progress.

I have thought it right to say so much, because I am deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation and with the necessity that lies upon us all of facing facts. I am conscious that much that I have said may evoke criticism and excite opposition ; but I hope that I may have succeeded in saying it in words that will not wound the legitimate susceptibilities of any. If in this respect I have any where gone astray, and employed language

Banquet at Bikaner.

which has falsified my hopes, I would here express my genuine regret. But, believing as I do that what I have said is true, I should think myself to have been lacking in my duty, if I had been deterred from telling this Assembly frankly what I conceive to be the truth, from fear that it might sound unpleasantly upon their ears. It were better to be blamed for saying unpleasant things if they are true in time, than to be condemned for saying them too late. I think it is essential that India should clearly appreciate some of the factors which will be powerful to influence the mind of Parliament. I have sought, so far as my own experience and knowledge on these matters is of any worth, to place India in possession of them, and I earnestly hope that, in the time which will elapse before the Statutory enquiry, events may follow such a course as may convince both India and Great Britain that it is possible for them harmoniously to work together for the consummation of their common hopes.

BANQUET AT BIKANER.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at 29th January
the Banquet at Bikaner on the 29th January :— 1927.

YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Lady Irwin and I are most grateful to you, Your Highness, both for the language and the spirit in which you have proposed our health, and to you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have received it. I am sure that all Your Highness' guests will wish me to take this public opportunity of thanking you for the manner in which you have entertained us, and for all the trouble you have taken to make our visit one of interest and enjoyment. A visit to Bikaner is the envy of those who have not had the pleasure of experiencing it, and our visit here will leave very happy and lasting memories in all our minds. The very name of Rajasthan,

Banquet at Bikaner.

par excellence the home of chivalry and pride of race, has associations which must arrest the thought of anyone to whom history makes appeal. And indeed it is not difficult, when you have once felt the wide freedom of the plains of Bikaner and breathed the atmosphere of its keen air, to understand how it has bred that virile race of which Your Highness is an outstanding type.

Your Highness' speech was full of many points of interest. Your reference to the old connection, which associates my family with Bikaner, gave me especial pleasure, and it was with much gratification that I read a copy of the letter written by my grandfather to His late Highness Maharaja Sirdar Singhji. Your Highness is rightly proud of a letter which so clearly testifies to and records the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Imperial Throne which has ever been displayed by the Rulers of Bikaner. It is pleasant for me too to reflect, as Your Highness remarked, that my grandfather, besides being indirectly responsible for my own existence, should have been the unconscious agent in securing Your Highness' presence as our host to-night.

I can therefore claim something in the nature of an hereditary interest in the Indian States, but the hold that they have upon our imagination does not depend only upon historical coincidence. Here we see an order of things that has flowed directly from the traditions of other days. Standing, as they do, astride the centuries, the Indian States seem to enshrine many of those elements of reverence for tradition, and respect for the judgment of earlier generations, which are sometimes lacking in modern political philosophy. But none can be content merely to yield himself to complacent veneration of the past, for the past is more truly a well from which we draw inspiration for the future. The States on their part and the people of British India on theirs are joint workers, brother builders, each contributing their part towards the realisation of better things than our fathers

Banquet at Bikaner.

or we have known. We must together strive to ensure that there may be no loose stones, no internal flaws tending towards the weakness and ultimate destruction of that which we desire to build, and that our successors, as they contemplate the results of our joint handiwork, may have cause to feel grateful that the foundations have been well and truly laid.

Your Highness is right in thinking that I realise to the full the sanctity of the Treaties and *Sanads* of the Indian States and I shall do everything in my power to observe them. While there are of course weighty responsibilities always attaching to myself and to my Government in relation to the Indian States, I can assure Your Highness that the general policy which my Government sincerely desire to pursue remains, as in the past, a policy of non-interference with affairs that are internal to the States.

The wider question of the relations of the States with British India is perforce taking on new aspects with the present passage of political events. This is a matter of the greatest moment to us all, and in the prolonged consideration of the many different problems, which are soon likely to arise, I look forward to the collaboration and advice of the Chamber in which Your Highness has always taken so prominent a part and to which, as Chancellor, you gave such long and devoted service. As Your Highness bore the brunt of the preliminary work involved in its constitution, so it was due largely to your initiative that the Ruling Princes of India realised the advantage of taking common counsel in all matters affecting the welfare of their States. Your Highness remarked in passing that I had endeavoured to encourage some of the younger members to speak in the Chamber, and I sincerely hope that they will do so more and more. My only complaint indeed against Your Highness is that you have set such a high standard of eloquence that it may

Banquet at Bikaner.

well deter less experienced speakers from entering the arena of debate.

A part of Your Highness' speech which interested me greatly was your reference to irrigation. I had, not long ago, the opportunity of visiting one of the new Colonies of the Sutlej Valley Project and of seeing the first effects of irrigation. It was a stimulating experience to stand on the very edge of a dry and thirsty desert, and see side by side with it land of similar quality which only a few months before had had its first drink of irrigation water, and was now covered with a thick carpet of luxuriant crops. The extension of this great scheme to Bikaner may, I think, be said to typify the inter-dependence of all Indian States and British India, and is a landmark in the story of Your Highness' ceaseless efforts, ever since your accession, to protect your State against the ravages of famine. Your Highness has described the administrative and financial problems which you had to solve, and I scarcely know whether to admire more the farsighted wisdom which Your Highness showed in the original conception of this scheme or the unremitting patience, energy and labour by which, in face of great natural difficulties, you have brought it to triumphant issue.

No Banquet in Bikaner would be complete without a reference to the wonderful sport which Your Highness provides for your visitors. The magnetic qualities of our host, which attract streams of visitors throughout the winter to Lalgah, even exert their influence on the sandgrouse from the distant plains of Central Asia. Why they should continue foolhardily to flock hither as they do, I hardly know, for they must realise by now that they are invading the territory of one of the best shots in the world. It may be that they know some of his guests do not hold as straight as His Highness. The memory of my shoot at Gajner will remain with me as a red-letter day in my calendar of sport. This cold weather has also seen the arrival of other new and strange birds of the air

Banquet at Bikaner.

in Bikaner. The flight of Sir Samuel and Lady Maud Hoare from England to India is something more than a mere winter migration, and I am certain that nothing could have more greatly stimulated Indian interest in this new means of travel and communication than that it should have been inaugurated by the Secretary of State for Air.

Your Highness perhaps remembers the words you spoke on an occasion like that of to-night, 30 years ago, when, I believe for the first time in its history, Bikaner entertained a Viceroy. As a boy of 16 you said "it is my most earnest wish that I should prove myself worthy of the position in which I have been placed. I want not only to be the ruler of my people, but their friend, and their best friend too". The history of Bikaner since that day is witness to the manner in which, with strong sense of the obligations of your position and with great administrative ability, Your Highness has fulfilled that promise. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the outstanding features of Your Highness' career. They are common knowledge to us all. India and the whole Empire are indebted to you for the part you played in the Imperial War Cabinet during the Great War, and at the Peace Conference at Versailles. More recently the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva was reinforced by your broad outlook and sagacious judgment strengthened and enriched by long contact with affairs in many fields. We have as our host to-night a Statesman versed in Imperial and International politics, a Soldier whose sword has been unsheathed in three continents in the service of the King-Emperor, and a Wise Ruler who finds his relaxation from public duty in showing good sport and dispensing unstinted hospitality.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE TALUQDARS OF
OUDEH.

22nd Feb- His Excellency the Viceroy received a Deputation from the
ruary 1927. Taluqdars of Oudh at Delhi on the 22nd February, and in reply
to the Address of Welcome presented by them said :—

Raja Sir Rampal Singh and Members of the British Indian Association of Oudh,—I thank you for the cordial address of welcome which you have so kindly presented to me to-day. Since your President several months ago informed me that your Association wished to send a deputation to bid me welcome, I have looked forward to this opportunity of meeting personally its representatives. The traditional loyalty of the members of your Order to the British Crown and Empire has been recognised by successive Viceroys; and, as the latest representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it gives me great pleasure to hear your reaffirmation of this long-standing devotion to the Throne.

I also value your reference to my interest in agricultural matters, and your claim that I am indeed as one of you—a land-owner who by birth and circumstances is inevitably attracted by, and bound up with, the problems of progress in the development of the land itself, and in the improvement of the condition of the people who live by it. I have been long enough in India to realise the difference between the problems which the land-owners in England and those in India are called upon to face. Diversity of climate alone would be sufficient to make this inevitable. But whether we live in Yorkshire or in Oudh, many of the principles which guide us in the task are the same. I have already said much on this subject during the last nine months, and I wish now to emphasise only one point with regard to the work of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Whatever the recommendations of that Commission may be, no permanent good will come of them

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

without the active co-operation of the great Zamindars of the country such as yourselves. You are in the position to translate theory into practice, and, if you do not make the attempt, those who live little above the subsistence level will be entirely unable to do so. I know that the task is no easy one, and that courage and perseverance are needed in following new paths and facing new risks. But the words of your address give me confidence that in the Garden of India, as you have described it, the Royal Commission will not find their labours unproductive for the want of soil in which to flourish.

I have heard with much pleasure the aid which the Association as a whole has given to the spread of education in the Province, and the steps voluntarily taken to ensure that the obligations which you have taken upon yourselves in this respect are properly met. You no doubt realise as well as I do the importance of education to the members of your Order in fitting yourselves to meet the requirements of your position. I trust full benefit is derived from the Colvin Taluqdars School, which I understand is maintained chiefly for this purpose.

In expressing appreciation at the establishment of the Chief Court of Oudh, you urge another change of status, despite the short time during which this Court has been in existence. The transfer of Judges and other officers of Government well acquainted with local conditions is one of the inevitable drawbacks in the administration of so vast a country as India. In this particular case I am told that the changes in the Chief Court have not been relatively more numerous than those in the High Court for the same period, and are not in future likely to be frequent in spite of the difference in prospects between the two Courts. However, the point you have raised will be borne in mind by those concerned, although further experience is necessary before the position can be profitably reviewed.

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

In the course of your address you have made a request for the grant of a Permanent Settlement. You may be sure that I fully realise the importance of maintaining stable conditions, in which agriculturists can look with confidence to the future, and I am ready to do all that I can to assist the Indian agriculturist on whom in great measure the prosperity of India depends. But much grain has passed through the mill since Lord Cornwallis gave Bengal its Permanent Settlement. India's place in the commercial markets of the world and the intricacies of her financial and social problems have brought many new factors into the picture, which necessitate elasticity of public revenue and expenditure. The present constitutional position too is only a transitional stage in the relations of the executive towards the Legislature and the people. The Government could hardly therefore, even if it so desired, accept the responsibility of anticipating the final verdict of the electorate on so important a measure. There are moreover obvious objections to the Permanent Settlement. It involves the sacrifice of the share of the State in growing values of land, and perpetuates assessments which must become more and more uneven as time goes on. Any measure too which tends permanently to limit the share which any class is called upon to contribute to the general revenues is almost certain to result in an unfair burden on other classes. The evidence before Government does not bear out the contention that the present system of periodic revision of land assessment places any real obstacle in the way of improvements to the land, or adversely affects agricultural development generally.

I am afraid too that the changed conditions of life in India make it impossible for me to acquiesce in your request for an unqualified exemption from the operations of the Arms Act. When the Local Government decided that, while no restriction should be placed on any living

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

Taluqdar, the case of each successor should be decided on its merits, the notification remarked "the day for the unlimited possession of unlicensed arms by private individuals in India is passing away just as in other countries it has already passed". I am assured by the Local Government that every precaution by way of special orders is taken to see that the new Act is worked in the most liberal spirit, and in actual practice I hope that the restrictions of which you complain are no more than those which a loyal citizen cheerfully accepts to ensure that dangerous weapons do not fall into unauthorised hands.

I am sorry that I cannot meet your wishes in these two respects, for you need no assurance from me that I have your interests at heart, and I do not under-estimate the value of the loyal and conservative influence which has ever been exerted by the Taluqdars of Oudh. I hope that I may continue to rely on your support, and that you will not fail to fulfil the responsibilities which your position demands of you. Secured as you are in your possessions by the strong arm of Government, and enjoying large incomes in a country in which public spirit is weak, you have definite responsibilities towards your tenantry and towards the State. In every country direct obligation rests upon us who own land to maintain close and sympathetic touch with everything that concerns the welfare of those who cultivate our land, and we cannot rightly delegate these to others. I should be glad therefore to see more of the large land-holders in India paying personal attention to the management of their estates rather than leaving it to agents whose personal interest in the lives and prosperity of the tenantry is not always what it should be.

In conclusion let me thank you on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the warm invitation you have extended to us to visit Lucknow. We both look forward

Address from the Ahmadiyya Community.

to coming there as early as our other public engagements will permit, and our anticipation is heightened by the thought of the cordial welcome which awaits us in the midst of such true friends as the Taluqdars of Oudh.

ADDRESS FROM THE AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY.

25th February 1927. In replying to an Address presented at Delhi on the 25th February by a Deputation representing the Ahmadiyya Community, His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

Gentlemen,—I have listened with much pleasure to the address with which you have been good enough to present me, and I thank you on Lady Irwin's behalf as well as my own for the kindly sentiments which it contains. I greatly appreciate your whole-hearted expression of good-will and loyalty to the Crown, and I am sure that these feelings will continue in the future as in the past to inspire the thought of your community.

The brief review which you have given of the early history and expansion of the Ahmadiyya community is enough to remind me of the deeply interesting life story of your founder, his studious early years, his powerful expositions of doctrine, and the other influences which gathered round him his first band of devoted followers. The growth of your community since that day, in the short course of one generation, is the measure of the belief which as a body you have reposed in the teachings of your founder and his successors.

You have referred in your address to the necessity of ensuring adequate Mahomedan representation in the Legislatures and in Government service, and you have expressed anxiety lest the chances of members of the Ahmadiyya community to obtain appointments under Government

Address from the Ahmadiyya Community.

should be prejudiced by the mere fact of their being Ahmadies. As regards this last point you need be under no apprehension that the Government have any intention of departing from their traditional policy of toleration for all creeds, or that any man is or will be debarred from public service by the fact of belonging to a particular religious sect.

On the point of communal representation, I may repeat what I said not long ago in Calcutta, that there is no present intention on the part of Government to make any change in the system which is now in force, and that Government will never contemplate the possibility of any alteration, without first taking into consideration the opinions of all communities which are likely to be affected. As regards recruitment of Moslems to service under Government, it is clearly preferable that the Moslem community should by merit alone make good their claim to representation, proportionate to their numerical and political importance. You have indeed yourselves frankly recognised the truth of this, and it is satisfactory to know that education among the members of your community is progressing with the rapidity which you have described. In the meantime Government endeavours by some reservation of appointments to remedy any marked discrepancies which may at present exist, and to give to each community a fair chance of public office. It is, as you will readily agree, impossible to lay down any hard and fast proportion in these matters, and merit must always be a primary factor in considering an individual's claim to be taken into Government service.

In touching on the communal dissensions which have marred the recent history of so many towns in India, you have emphasised the necessity for a change in the mental outlook of the Hindu and Moslem communities and the need for a spirit of mutual toleration and increased sense of duty among the leaders of both parties. I have said a

Address from the Ahmadiyya Community.

good deal on this subject on previous occasions. Government have, as I have pointed out more than once, taken such measures as they deemed possible, and I do not think that I can or need to-day say more than that I hope with all my heart that the lessons of this deplorable strife have sunk deep into the minds of all, and that lovers of peace will pursue with unabated zeal their labours towards reconciliation.

You are, I think, mistaken in supposing that, in the system by which Indians are now eligible for the King's Commissions in the Army, no attention is paid to the claims of those families who have for generations rendered military service. It is true that the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun, which trains boys for the Sandhurst entrance examination, is open to all Indians irrespective of their community ; but, in making selections for this college, special consideration is given to the claims of sons of Indian officers who have done good service ; and the sons of such officers, after admission to the college, are eligible for some reduction of fees according to the financial position of their parents or guardians. Actually, the great majority of the students at this college belong to families connected with the Army, and nearly half are the sons of Indian Officers. It is gratifying to me to see in your deputation to-day a number of soldiers who have served in His Majesty's forces.

Once again I thank you, gentlemen, for the renewal of your assurance that the Ahmadiyya community takes pride in its steadfast loyalty to the British Government, and I am happy to know that the representative of the King-Emperor in India may count on your steadfast assistance and support in meeting, and I trust solving, many of the difficulty problems by which this country is confronted.

CONVOCATION OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY

His Excellency the Viceroy attended the Convocation of the Delhi University on the 4th March and delivered the following address :—

4th March
1927.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It must be a pleasure to anyone who realises what a University may stand for in our modern life to take part in a ceremony like that of to-day, and it gives me great pleasure thus to find myself associated with a foundation in which my predecessor Lord Reading took such a genuine and lively interest. I thank you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the cordial words in which you have bid me welcome to the first Convocation which has been graced by your presence, and I may here echo the tribute you have paid to your predecessor in office, Sir Hari Singh Gour, to whose energy and force of personality this University owes a great obligation. I do not propose to do more than touch on the University's history during the past year. The steady increase in numbers is a testimony to the growing part it is playing in meeting the Educational needs of the areas which it serves. It may be that to some the pace of development judged merely by the opening of new faculties may appear disappointing. But, apart from the inevitable limitations imposed by financial considerations, it will be realised that it is essential in the circumstances in which this University is placed that a new faculty should be opened only in response to a genuine and extensive demand for it, and that consolidation of the ground already covered should precede further advance if progress is to be sure and permanent. The only academic developments in the University have been the institution of honours courses in Economics, English and Mathematics. Hitherto an honours degree has simply been obtained by the answer of certain additional papers supplementary to those set for the ordinary pass degree. The new courses allow for specialisation in one main subject and one sub-

Convocation of the Delhi University.

diary subject. The University is contemplating the opening of additional faculties in Commerce and Oriental languages towards which donations have been offered by members of the Delhi public, and the schemes for the constitution of these faculties are at present under consideration by the University.

We have listened to-day to many interesting and sagacious speculations from the lips of your Vice-Chancellor as to the real function of Universities and the manner in which they meet the needs of everyday life. I do not propose to do more than to add some very general remarks to his observations. I think that a good many people to-day are inclined to judge a University training by its commercial value to its graduates. They try to make up a nicely audited balance-sheet, expressing culture and learning as an asset to be valued in pounds, shillings and pence, and treating knowledge that has no market value as a bad debt. Such people have, I think, fallen into that fallacious reasoning which, as Hazlitt once said, confuses the knowledge of useful things with useful knowledge. Here in India many look on a University as little more than a turnstile leading into the arena of Government service, and if they find no service open to them are apt to feel that they have been cheated, as if they had paid for admission to a place of entertainment and then found there was no room for them. We must obviously clear our minds of any such false sense of values. Not that I minimise the necessity of practical application of learning to the business of a competitive world, though even here I think it is well to bear in mind that, unless industries and vocations already exist which demand men equipped with special qualifications, the provision of vocational training for such callings may simply have the effect of aggravating the problem of unemployment. You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have reminded us that the character of Universities has

Convocation of the Delhi University.

of course greatly changed since those early days when the fame of great teachers attracted crowds of poor scholars to an atmosphere of seclusion from the daily throb and contest of the outer world. The printing press, among other reasons, has changed all that and changed it not wholly for the better. The old instinct of inquisitiveness, the divine thirst for knowledge, finds in books and periodicals the satisfaction which could formerly be won only at the feet of learned teachers. Economic competition too has changed many of our canons of social life, and a University fails if it does not respond to and to some extent reflect these changed conditions.

Now, it is perhaps dangerous for one who has been so short a time in India to venture to pass any judgment on Indian University teaching, but it has occurred to me that in one respect Indian Universities lack something of the individuality that is enjoyed by Universities elsewhere. In England and Scotland each University has its own very definite individuality, and each makes its own very special contribution to the sum total of knowledge and culture. The Northern English Universities, for example, reflect with great fidelity the needs of their industrial and textile environment in their thriving technological studies. Bristol University is a great centre for agricultural research, Edinburgh leads the way in certain forms of medical research, while even those, who are in no way connected with them, will acknowledge that Oxford and Cambridge play a great part in the general intellectual life, not only of Great Britain but of the whole English-speaking world. That is the sort of thing which I believe might be of great advantage to India. I see no reason why Bombay should not be the great centre of textile research, both as regards fabric and machinery, for the whole East. Similarly, Patna University need not be deterred by the institution of the new school of mining at Dhanbad from developing a strong school of mining.

Convocation of the Delhi University.

engineering and geology. Calcutta, the headquarters of the Bengali people with their ancient culture, might win place and renown as a centre for the study of the humanities. In short, there might well be division of labour among the Indian Universities in which each could make its own unique contribution to the intellectual life of the whole. Apart from the stimulus to the growth of knowledge which such a development would give, it would have another notable result through the migration of students from Province to Province, so far as considerations of distance permit, and thus by the way of knowledge encourage a truer and stronger spirit of nationalism than to-day exists.

I should like here to say a word or two about a recent venture which I cannot but think may have an important bearing on the future of our Universities. The importance of good secondary schools in which physique, mind and character can be developed, and which are not forgetful of the practical needs of modern life, has wisely been recognised as a necessary link in the chain of a nation's education. The greatest educationists have always been disposed to lay stress on the importance of variety of types of school, and we have therefore recently heard with interest of the proposed attempt to reproduce here a type, familiar enough in England, but which hitherto has not taken root in India. I refer to the movement made on the initiative of Mr. S. R. Das for the establishment of a school on the lines of the great English Public Schools. Now, those Schools have had their critics, and it is not for one of their own sons to praise them. I am content to let their record speak for itself and to allow the world to form its own judgment of their worth. But I have little doubt that it is very well worth India's while to make the attempt to establish such a foundation here, and I shall watch with

Convocation of the Delhi University.

deep interest and good-will the work to which the Organising Committee, of whom your own Vice-Chancellor is an active member, have set their hands.

But whatever be the precise direction in which a University may set the main current of its activities ; whatever may be the influence exerted upon it by other scholastic institutions, the fact will remain that at its highest a University is as you, Vice-Chancellor, have so wisely said, the embodiment of the desire of men to pursue the truth for truth's sake, and thus to lay the foundations of real knowledge. Two of the principal qualities or faculties of human nature, viewed in relation to other manifestations of life, are this appreciation of knowledge and the power of criticism. Each postulates a sense of ultimate truth, and each is impossible without some standard of truth and judgment. This sense of ultimate truth is the intellectual counterpart of the æsthetic sense of perfect beauty, or the moral sense of perfect good, and it is this standard, influencing and appraising as it does our thoughts and actions in everyday life, which it is the principal function of a University to supply. Many of you will probably remember the definition which that great philosopher-saint Cardinal Newman gave of a University's purpose:—" A University training", he said, " is the great ordinary means to a great but ordinary end ; it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of public life."

I can wish nothing better for the Delhi University than that it may, though those who have to-day received degrees and wherever its influence extends, be the instrument of achieving these high purposes.

BANQUET AT BHOPAL.

14th March
1927.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Bhopal on the 14th March :—

YOUR HIGHNESS,—

I thank Your Highness for the kind words you have just spoken. The very brief visit which we paid to Bhopal last July was only enough to make us hope that we should before long have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Your Highness' State, and both Lady Irwin and I are grateful that Your Highness' kind invitation has provided that opportunity so soon. On Lady Irwin's behalf as well as my own, I thank Your Highness sincerely for the cordiality with which you have welcomed us, and I know that all Your Highness' guests would wish me to express to you their gratitude for all the hospitality you have shown us. My only misgiving is that our visit, falling as it does within the fast of *Ramzan*, may have caused Your Highness and Your Highness' people no small inconvenience.

It is, however, a pleasant thought that another page is being added to the long tale of friendship between Bhopal and the British Government, a friendship which dates right back to the early days of the British connection with Central India, and has remained staunch ever since, and was never more firm than at those times when it was most greatly needed, in the dark days of the Mutiny and of the Great War.

It gives me particular pleasure to come to Bhopal during the first year of Your Highness' rule, and I can wish you no better fortune than that your period of rule may be as peaceful and successful as that of your mother, who has recently vacated the *masnad* in Your Highness' favour. Her Highness the Begum indeed deserved well of the State and of India. For nearly 25 years she has devoted herself to the administration of her State, and we all wish her many years of happiness in the retirement

Banquet at Bhopal.

which she has so richly earned. In giving place to Your Highness she has honoured you with her full confidence, and I know that in the years before her she will find her greatest satisfaction in the wise Government of her State by the son in whom she has reposed her trust.

Your Highness is indeed fortunate in having at your side—I hope for many years to come—an adviser who will give you the full benefit of her sagacity and wide experience.

I think it probable that on no previous occasion has a Viceroy visited Bhopal when a man was on the *masnad*, and it is therefore fitting that I should express my admiration for the strong and skilful administration carried on for so long by a succession of able woman rulers in Bhopal. An Englishman indeed has only to glance at the history of his own country to see what a power for good the rule of a wise woman may be, and I think India too may be grateful for having had a ruler like Her Highness who, with all her high and varied responsibilities, has never forgotten that she is a woman and has taken a constant interest in all that makes for the improvement of the condition of her fellow-women in India.

It is indeed quite possible that Bhopal will again come under a woman's rule, in the person of Your Highness' daughter, for the Government of India have agreed that the succession is to pass to the heirs of your body. There has been so much uncertainty as to the rule of succession in Bhopal that it may not be inopportune if I here state three important principles which I conceive to be applicable. A son takes precedence of all daughters. Among sons the eldest succeeds, and among daughters too the eldest succeeds.

I have made this announcement in the hope and belief that, if any element of doubt ever existed in Your Highness' mind to distract you from the business of administration which lies before you, that doubt may now be

Banquet at Bhopal.

effectively dispelled. I look confidently forward to a period of continued prosperity for the State under Your Highness' rule. As a graduate of Aligarh University and as an experienced member of your mother's Council you start with advantages which are by no means given to all. You have the energy and fitness of youth, and the nerve and gift of quick decision which we have all admired in the polo field will stand you in no less good stead at the Council table.

In wishing Your Highness every success in your administration, I feel sure that we shall not look in vain for all those varied qualities necessary to a successful ruler, among which not the least valuable is generosity, and fair-minded appreciation not only of his friends but also of those who differ from him.

I know that certain difficult problems of administration already confront Your Highness, none perhaps more important from your subjects' point of view than the difficult question of land tenure. I shall be interested to learn what decision your Council arrives at on this question, and I shall hope to hear that success has crowned the efforts of the Agricultural Department which the State has wisely established.

I heard with much interest the desire which Your Highness has expressed for the foundation of a training centre for the officers of State forces. The idea of such a school has for some time been under the consideration of Government, who hope shortly to evolve a scheme which will commend itself to Rulers who, like Your Highness, realise the importance of giving their officers a sound military training. I am glad to take this opportunity of offering my congratulations to Your Highness on your recent appointment to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in His Majesty's army.

Brnquet at Bhopal.

Not long ago I had occasion to speak of the mutual obligations of British India and the Indian States in the future Government of this country.

The problem is one of great dimensions and complexity. Measured in terms of population, the Indian States represent 72 millions or nearly one quarter of the entire population of India ; measured in size two-fifths of the surface of India falls within the administration of Indian States ; and, if the question is one of this magnitude, it is certainly one of the most difficult and delicate that constitution-makers have ever had to solve. Yet the changing conditions of the present time, counteracting and even destroying the influences that have hitherto permitted life to move within well-defined compartments, will sooner or later force India to attempt its settlement. Where so many forces are at work in this direction, supported by powerful affinities of race, religion, custom and tradition, it is safe to suppose that time, the wise and patient guide, will point the way towards solution of the problem.

We are often tempted to desire that it might be possible for us to exercise the occult power of the crystal-gazer, and penetrate the mysteries which the future holds concealed. Such vision of the complete design would no doubt greatly facilitate the work of those whose task it is to weave a complicated fabric, and who, as they weave, see only a fraction of the whole. But that is not the condition of our labour, and no man to-day can with any certainty forecast the conclusions on these issues which careful deliberation and discussion may finally suggest. It may well be that we shall find that both British India and the States have something to learn from one another, and that each side can give much which will be to the benefit of both. The machinery of Government to-day in British India and the States is widely different. With you it is personal, however this personal rule may be qualified and

Banquet at Srinagar.

assisted by the advice of those summoned by the Ruler to his counsels. We, on the other hand, have set the feet of British India upon the path that leads to such self-government as permits the will of the majority of the electorate to become the repository of political power. If, however, the object of Government is the same, namely, to promote the welfare of those committed to its care, and if we may be agreed that, as Your Highness has said, whether exercised through one form of Government or another, power is an instrument entrusted to our hands for public, not private, benefit, I should foresee no insuperable difficulty in devising means by which in mutual respect both British India and the States should join as partners to bring their peculiar gifts to India's feet.

In conclusion I will only say once more how great a pleasure it gives me to visit a State of whose loyalty and hospitality I have heard so much. I shall carry away the most pleasant recollections of this picturesque town, its blue waters and green forests—a more kindly landscape than the rugged Northern hills from which your intrepid ancestors came to found here their dynasty. We look forward with keen anticipation to the sport which Your Highness has taken such trouble to arrange for us and for some of the four-footed subjects of the State, and we shall hope to play our part in it without discredit.

I will now ask the company to rise and drink the health of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.

BANQUET AT SRINAGAR.

12th April
1927.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Srinagar on the 12th of April :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not easy to find words in which to thank Your Highness enough for having given us such a delightful fortnight in your

Banquet at Srinagar.

beautiful country. I know that all my fellow guests are as sorry as I am that our visit has come to an end, and that they would wish me to express their gratitude to you for the unstinted hospitality which you have shown them and for the cordiality with which Your Highness' officials and Your Highness' people have received them wherever they have gone. For my own part and on behalf of Lady Irwin I must also thank you for the very kind words with which Your Highness has just proposed our health and expressed your pleasure in welcoming us to your State.

I suppose that no country in the world has been more often praised for its beauty than Kashmir. The fame of its beauty was carried to Europe in early days by travellers who had lived with the Court of the great Moghul Emperors, and who had caught something of the fervour which led the Emperor Jehangir often to say that he would rather lose all his Empire than Kashmir. It was the custom in those times for poets at the Imperial Court to vie with each other in describing the glories of this country, and one of them, arrested by that wonderful contrast of green fields and valleys below and dazzling snows above, was moved to declare that it was right that this King of all the Kingdoms of the world should have the most precious crown—whose base was emeralds and whose summit diamonds. Such a description might well occur to any one whose eyes rest upon the wonderful view of lake and field and mountain from the windows of the Gulab Bhavan Palace where Your Highness has so royally entertained us.

When a Viceroy last visited Kashmir, the late Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh was on the *gadi*. The interesting note on Jammu and Kashmir, which Your Highness recently presented to me, gave me an insight into the many works of public utility and advancement

Banquet at Srinagar.

which His late Highness carried out. By his death, Government lost a loyal friend and staunch supporter, and Kashmir a Ruler whose first thoughts were always for his people. The State granaries, to which I paid an interesting visit with Your Highness some days ago, and in regard to which in their early days you were responsible for framing the main lines of action, are one of the many monuments to your uncle's rule. I was greatly pleased to have the opportunity of witnessing in operation a reform which, in the exceptional circumstances of Srinagar, must have meant much in the way of economic stability and security both to consumers and producers. I am sure that both residents of Srinagar and cultivators will not soon forget the debt they owe to those who originated the idea.

Your Highness, who has now succeeded him, is no novice in the art of Government, for, before your accession, Your Highness had acquired, as Senior and Foreign Member, an intimate knowledge of the details of administration which, as events have shown, have enabled you to preserve the personal element in your Government and to lose no time in applying yourself to schemes for the improvement of your State and the welfare of your subjects. I trust that the constitutional reorganisation, of which Your Highness has just spoken, will assist you in your work by facilitating the despatch of public business.

It is indeed no small achievement that, within less than a year of your accession to the *gadi*, Your Highness should have brought into being the Regulation to which you have just referred, designed to free the agriculturist from the fetters of indebtedness. It would surely be unnatural that, in a country where Nature has bestowed her benefits so lavishly, the peasant classes should live in a state of debt and penury. 'Borrowing', it has been said, 'dulls the edge of husbandry' and, now that Your

Banquet at Srinagar.

Highness has shown the agriculturists that you are ready and anxious to help them, I hope that they will be encouraged to rely rather upon their own labour and effort than upon the not wholly disinterested philanthropy of the money lender. Their surest way of achieving this end is, I feel little doubt, by mutual co-operation, which I understand Your Highness is doing your best to encourage. I am glad to hear that this year agricultural conditions throughout the country are satisfactory, and I trust that the blight, which despite all the protective measures taken by the Darbar caused such damage to the fruit crop last autumn, will not this year repeat its unwelcome visit.

Another measure which, thanks largely to Your Highness' own efforts, is likely greatly to benefit your subjects, is the abolition of the system of forced labour for private and State purposes, and the framing of rules by which labourers receive fair wages for their work. I feel sure that any extra cost which may now fall upon the State as a result of this enlightened action is money well spent for the relief of hardship and the promotion of the contentment of your people.

On the first day of my visit to Your Highness' territories I had evidence of the standard of Your Highness' organisation in the review of your troops which I saw at Jammu, and I am glad that Your Highness' own services have recently been recognised by your promotion to the rank of Colonel in His Majesty's army. The extensive programme for the reorganisation of your State Forces, which Your Highness has undertaken, is a work of no small magnitude. The re-arrangement of the whole Army Administration and Commands, the raising of three squadrons of Cavalry, the perfecting of the training and equipment of your Artillery and Infantry Units, are an achievement of which Your Highness has every reason to be proud. I have no doubt that, should occasion arise,

Banquet at Srinagar.

the remodelled Army of Kashmir will excel even the Kashmir troops which gained high distinction in many fields during the Great War, and which received many tributes of praise from Generals who had the good fortune to command them.

I would here take the opportunity of thanking Your Highness once more for your recent offer of personal service and the resources of your State for use in China. I can well believe that it was, as you have said, a bitter disappointment to Your Highness that the situation did not necessitate the acceptance of this generous offer ; but I am glad to know that, should the occasion ever arise, we can rely on Your Highness to give such practical expression to the traditional loyalty of your House. I shall have great pleasure in conveying your loyal sentiments to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Your Highness has touched on the question of the future relations between the Indian States and British India. You are right in thinking that I always welcome the opportunity to visit Indian States not only for the pleasure it gives me, but for the insight, as Your Highness has said, that I can obtain through personal exchange of thought into this unique and profoundly absorbing problem.

I need not repeat what I have recently said on this subject. It is not yet time to come to any decision, but it is time to start thinking, and thinking seriously, of what steps it may be feasible to take towards the discovery of the right solution. You will believe me when I say that it is constantly in my thoughts, and I would ask Your Highness and your Brother Princes to have it not less constantly in yours. There is much clearing of the ground to be done before we can begin to build, and I

Address of Welcome from the Quetta Municipality.

can assure you that I shall always welcome frank discussion and shall be anxious to consider carefully any constructive suggestions you may have to make.

Your Highness, I must conclude by thanking you again for the unfailing kindness you have shown us throughout our visit, which I fear has been long enough to tax the resources of even so good a host. There was one passage in Your Highness' speech with which I think none of your guests will agree—I refer to your apology for the lack of sport at this time of year. Few of us I think can ever have seen a duck shoot such as you gave us at Hokra and Hygam, while Your Highness' famous trout streams have provided such sport that even fishermen had no occasion to exaggerate the size and number of their catch, and were denied any occasion for the exercise of that quality of patience, peculiar to their fraternity. The invitation you have extended to us to renew our visit to your State is a temptation which we shall find very hard to resist, and Your Highness may be sure that we shall remember it with gratitude, and live in hopes that circumstances may allow us to accept it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink the health of our host, His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE QUETTA MUNICIPALITY.

In replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the 20th April Quetta Municipality on the 20th April, H. E. the Viceroy 1927. said :—

It has given Lady Irwin and myself great pleasure to be welcomed, on our arrival at the headquarters of your Province, by the cordial address to which we have just listened. Though, as you point out, only half a century

Address of Welcome from the Quetta Municipality.

has passed since Sir Robert Sandeman first made Quetta his headquarters in Baluchistan, the town with whose welfare you are entrusted is already one of the historic places of the British Empire. Its position as one of the bastions of India and the part it has played and is yet destined to play in the history of the North-West Frontier make Quetta a name which will always have a peculiar interest both to Englishmen and Indians. A particular interest is lent to my visit this year by the fact that it is the Jubilee of your Municipality.

I am glad to hear from Mr. Johnston of the satisfactory state of the Municipal finances and affairs in general, and, from an interesting list of figures which he has given me, I see that your receipts from octroi, which form a large part of your income, have risen steadily during the last 14 years and have in fact doubled in value since 1913. At the same time I am sorry to hear that you have latterly been passing through a period of trade depression—a state of affairs which I am afraid has not been peculiar to your city. But I notice from your octroi returns that for many years the amount of refunds, which would indicate the volume of export trade, has been small, in fact almost negligible, and this seems to show that your city has never been a great distributing centre and that the Quetta trader has to rely rather on the custom of the resident population than on export. I trust therefore that such external trade as your Municipality may have recently lost has been compensated by the increased trade within the city caused by the rapid growth of the civil population.

I have listened with pleasure to your account of the public works carried out by your Committee during the last 10 years, and of the keen public spirit shown both by officials and private individuals. I noticed recently that in the last Census Report a special word of commendation

Address of Welcome from the Quetta Municipality.

was given to the markets of Quetta, and I am glad to hear that in the matter of public buildings and modern improvements your Municipality still maintains its progress. I well know the value of an adequate water supply both to the health and the comfort of the people, and I feel sure too that the erection of a Town Hall and Municipal Offices will help to facilitate the despatch of your business and maintain the proper dignity of your body. During my visit I hope to see some of these improvements for myself, and to confirm my expectation that they will compare not unfavourably with those which I have visited in less isolated parts of India. But I am not sure that we ought any longer to speak of Quetta as an isolated part of India. It was indeed a striking feat that in September 1925 the Royal Air Force should have delivered mails from Quetta at Simla within the space of nine hours. The fact is that, with the development of modern communications, isolation is a word which is rapidly losing a good deal of its old significance.

Gentlemen, the tone of your address has confirmed what I had already heard of the harmony with which your Committee, consisting as it does of all creeds, carries out its important duties, and of the good feeling and friendly spirit which exist between the various communities under your charge. I can wish you nothing better than that this happy state of affairs may continue. I am always glad to have the opportunity of meeting those who, like yourselves, voluntarily devote so much of their time and energy to the benefit of their fellow townsmen, for whom it may not always be possible to express their appreciation of the service given on their behalf. That service it is your responsibility to render and on behalf of Government I should like to thank you for the way in which you are discharging your honourable obligation.

DURBAR AT QUETTA.

21st April
1927.

The following speech was delivered by H. E. the Viceroy at the Durbar held at Quetta on the 21st April :—

Chiefs, Sirdars and Headmen,—Nearly 10 years have passed since the representative of the King-Emperor had the opportunity of visiting Baluchistan, and I am indeed glad that I have been able, within little more than a year of my arrival in India, to come and make the acquaintance of your country and its people. At the time of Lord Chelmsford's visit to Quetta, India and the whole British Empire were still in the throes of war, and he then expressed his gratitude to His Highness the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Bela, and the Chiefs and Headmen of the whole Province for their loyal support of the British Government. Baluchistan did not however remain entirely unaffected by the storms which during those years swept over so great a part of the world. The rising of the Marri and Khetran tribes, which occurred not long after Lord Chelmsford's visit, was a regrettable outburst, but it was quickly suppressed, and I am glad to say that our relations with those two tribes have since then been excellent.

The peace which brought warfare to a close in Europe was however only as the false dawn of peace for the frontiers of India, for within a few months we were involved in war with Afghanistan. Although on the whole the tribes of this Province stood the strain of those hostilities well, the general feeling of uncertainty had its effect not only on some sections which assumed an attitude of open lawlessness, but on the Zhob Militia which succumbed to the pressure brought to bear on it from different quarters. With the re-establishment of friendly relations between ourselves and Afghanistan, Government, as you know, took the necessary measures to restore their authority where it had been called in question, and adopted, so far as was possible, a policy rather of conciliation towards the misguided than of vindictive repression. For a year or

Durbar at Quetta.

two a period of unrest followed, marked by raiding and other offences all along the border. I am glad however to find that since then there has been a steady decrease in serious crime, and though I know well that in a Border Province there is need for constant vigilance, and if necessary for stern measures, I feel sure that the wiser heads in all your tribal councils realise that in the end no good can come from lawlessness and disorder, and with the help that your Sirdars and natural leaders can give I look forward confidently to a period of peace and advancement for your Province.

It is a matter of great regret that a succession of years of unfavourable rainfall should have caused serious loss to certain parts of the Province, and especially to the Marri and Bugti tribes whose flocks have suffered severely from lack of grazing. I trust however that the improvement in the general condition of the country, which has lately been evident, will be maintained and that, with the help of the contract recently concluded with the Burma Oil Company and the development of its mineral resources, the prosperity of the Bugti tribe will be speedily restored. I may here take the opportunity of expressing the acknowledgments of Government to the Bugti Tumandar to whose loyalty, force of character and wise administration are due in great measure the tribe's constant good behaviour and contentment. I feel sure too that the Marri Tumandar will fulfil the expectations he has already raised and prove himself a good Chief to his tribe.

Efforts as you know are being made to render parts of this Province less liable to disaster from the lack of normal rains, and before long a branch of the Lloyd Barrage canal is to be brought into Western Nasirabad. I know well the uncertainty of your present system of irrigation by inundation canals, and that a perennial

Durbar at Quetta.

supply of water will be of inestimable value to all those who are fortunate enough to own land within its reach. It has, as you know, been decided to allot a considerable part of the Government waste land, which will now come under cultivation, to the Marris and Bugtis and other tribesmen whose economic conditions are difficult. Government has a right to expect that those of you who are to benefit by this scheme will not forget the obligations incumbent on all land-owners to look upon their tenantry as in the nature of a trust, and to see that they are provided with those opportunities for education and general well-being which will assist and permit them to be loyal and useful members of their communities. Permanent irrigation on a large scale is of course only possible in the plains, but Mr. Johnston has told me that an effort is being made to obtain water in the hill country also by the boring of deep wells, and possibly by the construction of dams to hold up or regulate the floods which so often bring destruction instead of benefit in their train. I am inclined to the belief that we have by no means yet reached the limits of what is possible with modern resources in this latter direction, and I hope to have the problem of better conservation and utilisation of the rain water supply carefully studied by a competent expert before long. Meanwhile you may be certain that I shall always listen with a sympathetic ear to any practical proposal of this nature likely to improve the condition of the agriculturist class, whose welfare will always be a matter of the greatest concern to me.

I have learned with great pleasure that the improvement in the administration of the Kalat State has been well maintained under the guidance of His Highness the Khan, whose absence to-day owing to reasons of health I so much regret. It would have been a pleasure to congratulate him in person on the success of his wise reforms,

Durbar at Quetta.

and to thank him for the loyal support and collaboration which have been so valuable an asset to Government for many years past. The change in the conditions of the finances of his State is by itself an index of the advance which has been made. The institution of a regular treasury with a satisfactory audit and properly framed budget has had the result of doubling the fluctuating revenue of the State. Money bags which a few years ago lay empty in the State Treasury are now comfortably filled, and the balance of over 20 lakhs of rupees has given His Highness opportunities, which he has used to advantage, of framing schemes for the welfare of his subjects. Funds have been provided for schools, hospitals, roads and buildings, on which not long ago there was no money to spend. In communications perhaps most of all has the development of the State been evident. It is only a few years since Mekran and Jhalawan were remote and inaccessible. Journeys were arduous and the demands on local transport for travelling officials often entailed considerable hardship on the people. Since then 2,000 miles of road have now been made throughout the State, and the furthest point of Mekran is within four days' journey of Quetta. I am confident that this will make for the peace and prosperity of this area. No dispute or trouble which now takes place will be beyond the easy reach of Jirgahts or State Officials, and I hope that the tribesmen of outlying areas, while surrendering nothing of their independence of life and thought, will remember that these roads are surely destined to extend to them the same peace that has gradually been spread by the British Government from the Southern to the Northern limits of India.

All present here to-day are aware what a large share of the credit for this satisfactory state of affairs is due

Durbar at Quetta.

to the high character and unfailing vigour of the Waziri-Azam Nawab Sir Shams Shah. The improvement in the administration has perhaps been most apparent in Mekran, where until five years ago His Highness had to meet a large deficit for its administration. In 1922 Mekran was handed back to the State for administrative purposes, and this year and last it has shown a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure. The Mekran frontier, however, was for some time a source of anxiety to my Government. The unsettled state of this part of the border resulted in cattle-lifting raids and often in murder, and the conduct of the Mekran Levy Corps and the local people was a matter for deep disappointment to Government. It is satisfactory to know that the spirit has now changed, and that the Mekran Levy Corps, assisted by the local people, have thoroughly established their ascendancy, and indeed not long ago inflicted severe punishment on a formidable raiding party from beyond the border.

Nothing perhaps could give better evidence of the improvement in the administration of the State of Kalat or of the general contentment of the people than the issue of the decree by which His Highness the Khan has abolished slavery. From ancient times this custom had existed in Kalat, and men and women servants were in some cases the absolute property of their masters. The masters on their side had no corresponding obligations, and could if they wished cast out their slaves unfed and unclothed to suit their own convenience, or sell children away from their parents. This system had from time to time been made less rigorous, but until last year it still existed, with varying harshness, in certain parts of the State. On 4th November 1926 His Highness signed a decree which, in view of the importance I attach to it, I

Durbar at Quetta.

will quote in its very words—

“It is hereby decreed that from this day forth private property in *ghulam* and *kaniz* shall cease to exist throughout the Kalat State. Those *ghulam* and *kaniz* who so desire may remain with their masters ; but hereafter no man, woman or child shall be sold, bought, gifted or inherited, nor shall they be forcibly separated from their kin.”

This decree, which will bring happiness to many homes, is proof of His Highness' wisdom and far-sighted policy. It is proof too that he realises that custom is a living growth, not a dead weight around our necks, and that if *riwaj*, by which the affairs of this Province are so largely guided, is to retain its vitality, it must be ready to adapt itself to the changing conditions of the world and of human society. I am glad to hear that the decree has been loyally received and acted on by the Sirdars, for I am determined to see that no evasion of it shall take place, and I have given Mr. Johnston, in whom I repose the fullest confidence, orders to take the most stringent measures to ensure its universal observance.

Baluchistan, thanks largely to the wisdom of a great administrator, Sir Robert Sandeman, has already a large share of that self-Government which so many countries in the world are still striving satisfactorily to achieve. The management of affairs and the decision of disputes are left, so far as may be possible, to the Sirdars, tribal Chiefs and Headmen, and it is essential that every one of these should realise that the successful maintenance of the present system must depend on his own integrity, diligence, good faith and active co-operation. Government have no reason to regret the confidence they have so long placed in the leading men of Baluchistan, or to doubt

Opening of the Opium Conference at Simla.

that they will continue to lend the strength of their full support to a form of administration so well suited to their needs and aspirations. But, just as your Chiefs and Sirdars have great privileges, so they have great responsibilities, and it is only by the whole-hearted and faithful discharge of those responsibilities that their privileges can be justified. By watching over the affairs of his people, as a father over his children, by using his authority for the good of his whole tribe and not for selfish purposes of his own, by giving true advice in Council and fair decisions in Jirgah, without fear or favour, a Chief will prove himself the best friend both of his own tribal system and of the British Government who so earnestly desire to maintain it.

OPENING OF THE OPIUM CONFERENCE AT SIMLA.

26th May 1927. His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Opium Conference at Simla on the 26th May with the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—It is my pleasant duty first of all to extend a warm welcome to the representatives of the Indian States who are assembled here to-day. I know that many of you have travelled considerable distances to attend this Conference, over which Mr. Das has kindly consented to preside, at a season of the year which unfortunately adds in a material degree to the fatigue and discomfort inseparable at all times from long journeys. I know, also, that absence from other duties and preoccupations at this time has been arranged by many of you at considerable personal inconvenience. I and my Government highly appreciate the readiness with which the States have responded to our invitation. I announced the decision of the Government of India to convene the present Conference in my speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes on 22nd November last. I then appealed for the co-operation of the States in the solution of the

Opening of the Opium Conference at Simla.

problems arising out of certain features of the present situation in regard to opium in their Territories. I pointed out that this was a matter in regard to which they and we must work together. "The decision", I said, "whatever it may be, must be the product of the combined wisdom and the voluntary co-operation of the Government and the Durbars". In his speech at the Session of the 25th November His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber, while emphasising the complexity and difficulty of the opium problem, assured me in the most gratifying terms that the Government might rely upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the Princes in their endeavour to solve it.

The keynote of our deliberations then should be that spirit of co-operation, to my appeal for which His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala so cordially responded. We are here to take counsel together for our common good, for the good of India and for the good of humanity. If our discussions are to be fruitful, it is essential that they should be conducted in an atmosphere of the frankest mutual understanding and mutual confidence. Let no echoes of past controversies ring in our ears. Let us endeavour to see the facts of the present situation clearly and to study them disinterestedly, with a single determination to find a solution of the problem with which we have to deal. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, in the speech that I have already quoted, suggested, regretfully, that the great sacrifices that India has already made in relinquishing large revenues that she once derived from opium, had not brought to the world any gain corresponding to the loss that she herself had thus suffered. But he supplied the answer to this somewhat pessimistic observation in the next sentence, in which he described the Government's policy as the noble pursuit of an admirable ideal.

We are bound by international undertakings to a certain policy. We have given our word and we must

Opening of the Opium Conference at Simla.

keep it. Let me remind you briefly what those international undertakings are. The Treaty of Versailles, by which the League of Nations was brought into being, and which automatically involved the ratification of the Hague Opium Convention was, as you remember, signed by representatives of India, including a Ruling Prince, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, and thereby India, and not merely British India, became a party to this Convention. India is thus pledged to the ultimate suppression of opium-smoking, to the limitation and control of the export of opium, so that none may reach other countries without the consent of their respective Governments, and to prevent the smuggling of opium to the Far East.

By her ratification of the Geneva Dangerous Drugs Convention and Opium Agreement of 1925, India has further pledged herself to take effective measures to prevent the illicit traffic in raw opium from presenting a serious obstacle to the suppression of opium-smoking, a habit which though rare in India is sadly prevalent further East. A Commission of the League of Nations will visit India and other producing countries in the course of the next few years in order to determine whether this has been done.

The first problem that we have to consider is therefore international. In the States taken as a whole there are, as you know, enormous stocks of opium for which there is at present no legitimate outlet. There is also extensive cultivation of the poppy which is retarding the absorption of these stocks. So long as there is this immense stock and this considerable area under poppy in their midst, the Government of India will be severely handicapped in effectively discharging their international obligations in regard to the smuggling of opium. What answer can they give to the Commission of the League of Nations, to

Opening of the Opium Conference at Simla.

which I have already referred, or to the Central Board to be set up under the 24th Article of the Geneva Opium Convention, when they draw attention to the formidable accumulations of opium held by private persons in the States, and to the potential danger that they constitute from the international point of view? For the statistics of seizures show clearly enough that a stream of smuggled opium is flowing from the States towards the sea-ports.

The internal problem is scarcely less serious. No one, I believe, can deny that large quantities of opium are smuggled out of Indian States, not only into British India, but into other States as well. Almost every Province in India, and several of the States themselves, complain that no further progress can be expected in clearing up its "black spots", where consumption is excessive, unless internal smuggling can be effectively repressed. I am endeavouring to state the facts accurately and fairly. It is no part of my present purpose to pass censure or to apportion blame. I recognise, as we all must, that the immense disparity between the selling prices of opium in the States and in British India, respectively, and the demand for opium at any price in Far Eastern countries, offers an incentive to smuggling powerful and indeed irresistible. And this demand from abroad, always a disturbing factor, is being, and will be, further intensified by our policy of extinguishing exports in ten years.

It is hardly to be expected that the States should incur on preventive measures heavy expenditure which from their point of view would be a dead loss. The financial position of some States precludes the very possibility of such a course. And in fact, having regard to the ease with which considerable quantities of opium can be concealed, it seems practically certain that mere preventive measures will never suffice to stop this illicit traffic. Moreover, they would leave untouched the

Opening of the Opium Conference at Simla.

problems created by huge stocks, extensive cultivation and a dwindling demand. Another solution must therefore be found, if we are to effect improvement.

Yet a third problem is that presented by the high rate of consumption in some of the States. Here the States are more directly concerned than the Government of India. The eyes of the world are on them, and the conscience of the civilised nations is intensely sensitive upon this subject. The policy of the Government of India in regard to opium does not aim (except in regard to smoking) at prohibition, but it does aim at enforcing moderation. The high rate of consumption in the States is bound to arouse increasingly unfavourable comment in India and outside India, and bring discredit on both the States and the Government of India. The representatives of the Government of India are here, as I have said, to discuss—not to dictate. But we have formulated a tentative policy which my colleague, Sir Basil Blackett, will explain to you in detail. Broadly, it would involve the ultimate discontinuance of poppy cultivation in the States and the supply of opium for their consumption in accordance with their requirements by the Government of India at cost price. The States would thus be placed in exactly the same position, so far as their supplies of opium are concerned, as the Provinces of British India.

The financial aspects of this proposal are important. Sir Basil Blackett will deal with them. As you know, I have always a very warm corner in my heart for the cultivator. It is out of regard for him that our own programme of extinguishing exports has been spread over ten years. I fully realise—and I fully share—the solicitude of the Durbars in regard to the effect of any great contraction of opium cultivation on their own farmers. But I believe the problem to be less serious than it appears. Drastic reductions of the area under cultivation in the United Provinces, amounting to no less

Opening of the Opium Conference at Simla.

than 50 per cent. in three years, have not caused any appreciable hardship there. I would also remind you that between 1906 and 1916 the total area under cultivation in Central India and Rajputana was reduced from 244,000 acres to no more than 10,000 acres. In fact opium cultivation was under a fair way to extinction—and yet, so far as I am aware, the economic life of the States was not disorganised. On the contrary, it was reported that, in spite of the hereditary taste of the cultivator for opium cultivation, it was difficult to induce him to adhere to it owing to the profits to be made out of wheat and other crops. Even between 1923 and 1926 the area fell from roughly 72,000 to under 35,000 acres. The results of the researches of Mr. Howard, Director of the Institute of Plant Industry, Indore, entitle us, I think, to hope that in Java sugarcane and in the improved variety of wheat known as Pusa 4 practicable and profitable crops are to be found which can replace poppy on the lands irrigated by wells that are now devoted to it.

However this may be, we are prepared to render every assistance in our power in the investigation of such problems. This is not, of course, the only aspect of the matter that has to be investigated. I fully realise that before any policy can be decided on, still more before a single step forward can be taken, the fullest investigation must be made of all aspects of the subject, among which its bearing upon the finances of the Durbars is not the least important.

The object that I have had at heart in the calling of this Conference will, in fact, have been secured if all the States represented here consent—as I feel confident all will consent—to co-operate with us in a thorough investigation of the whole subject. I trust that this will be unanimously agreed to without hesitation or qualification. It will then be for you freely and frankly to explain your several points of view, and to state your doubts and the

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society.*

difficulties that you anticipate. You may be assured that the representatives of the Government will listen with the utmost sympathy to all that you have to say, and will be ready to the best of their power to explain any points in regard to which you may desire enlightenment.

We shall then be better equipped to decide the exact nature and scope of the investigation to be undertaken, and what machinery is best suited for it. I shall feel profoundly disappointed—and so I may add will the Secretary of State, who is keenly interested in this departure—if in due course the investigation does not furnish a solution of our problem satisfactory to all concerned.

If, on the other hand, we can succeed in our endeavours, we shall have done something which will free the Government of India, the Provinces and many of the States from their several embarrassments, international and domestic. On your side also we shall, I am firmly convinced, have assisted the moral and material progress of the States, and greatly enhanced the prestige of their Rulers before the world.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED
CROSS SOCIETY.

24th June
1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla on the 24th June, and delivered the following address :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have listened this afternoon to the two speeches, full of information and interest, with which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith have presented the reports of the St.

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society.*

John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society. They have called attention to the salient features in these reports, and I do not propose to detain you long by referring in detail to the activities of the two bodies during the last year. There are, however, one or two points in the reports which seem to call for special notice, to which I may be allowed briefly to refer. The first is the arrangement with the military authorities, by which the Red Cross Society will undertake the care and treatment of soldiers invalided from the Army for certain chronic diseases. It will be a cause of pleasure and satisfaction to us all that we shall thus be enabled to make a definite contribution to the solution of a concrete problem, and to discharge part of our obligation to a class who have deserved so well of their country's sympathy. We shall follow the development of this scheme, which is now in its initial stages, with warm hopes for its successful growth. There are two other features in the work under review which seem to me to afford grounds for especial satisfaction. The first is the rapidity with which classes in first-aid have increased among the police forces in various Provinces. The other is the large increase in work on child welfare, and we are much indebted to Provincial Committees for their whole-hearted co-operation in a matter so vital to the future of India's future citizens.

Here we are moving upon lines that are generally familiar wherever these societies pursue their beneficent operations. But in the scheme for Travelling Dispensaries I think we are sowing a seed of a plant, peculiarly adapted to the soil of India, which may grow well if properly tended and cared for in the early stages of its life. In a country of vast epidemics like India, a system of mobile units, which could like an efficient fire brigade at short notice take the field in an organised and trained condition would find an almost unlimited field for usefulness, not

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society.*

merely in treating the sick but in that prevention of disease where epidemics threaten or exist, which is at once cheaper and worth more than cure at a later stage. We do well to remember that, however complete may be the State organisation of preventive and medical policy, there will always be the need of voluntary effort such as our two societies can give. And I am especially glad to see that Provincial Red Cross centres have continued to concentrate on Public Health propaganda. The modern State can do much, and indeed is sometimes tempted to think it can do everything ; but no official regulations can exercise direct or continuous control of the personal health or habits of the normal individual, and there is little use in the State launching extensive schemes of social benefit if the mind of the people is not fully aware of and alive to their objects and possibilities. In the task of thus leading public opinion in support of Government and the best way of progress, voluntary societies such as ours can, as experience in other countries has shown, do immense public service.

For more detailed information I would refer you to the reports themselves, but I am sure that you would wish me to give expression to the pleasure that we all feel in knowing that each Association is so steadily and surely pursuing the policy it has marked out for itself. You would also, I know, wish me to express our gratitude to those who are charged with the superintendence and organisation of these manifold activities. We are fortunate in having Chairmen of our central bodies, who are possessed of all the keenness which is the parent of success, and a staff under Colonel Bhola Nath, who continue to carry out their duties with efficiency and enthusiasm. Our gratitude must also go to all those who have assisted in various parts of India in carrying on the work of these two great institutions, whose basic objects are both the

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society.*

same—the relief of human suffering—and which have the same ideals of labour for love and service without reward. Many of these voluntary helpers have to devote scanty and hard-won leisure to this work ; and it would be small wonder if they felt sometimes in the rush of modern life that their time was already over-full. But my experience is that it is generally those people whose lives are the most crowded, who can somehow make room to undertake new voluntary tasks of philanthropic charity. You may remember the words of the French historian of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem which he described as “ an Order which, amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands, was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field ”.

It only remains for me, Ladies and Gentlemen, in conclusion to thank you for your continued interest and support. The good attendance at these annual meetings of the two institutions is in itself an encouraging indication of the good-will with which a large section of the public follows the fortunes of the Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association. That neither body can succeed without sustained interest and enthusiasm is an obvious truism, and every day that passes serves to bring into more clear relief how much there yet remains for us to do. The figures which Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith quoted this afternoon—5,000 members of the Red Cross Society in India compared with two and a half million in Japan—may well give us food for thought, and strengthen us in the determination to extend the activities with which these institutions are concerned. Let us remember the achievement, and attempt to emulate the faith and vision, of one who was perhaps the greatest of all the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem—Raymond de Puy, who found the Order a little community of monks

Inauguration of the Indian Radio Telegraph Company's Wireless Beam Service.

tending the sick in a hospital and left it one of the greatest and most powerful organisations devoted to the unselfish service of mankind.

I trust that as years go on we may realise more and more how wide a scope is here offered to the ordered efforts of those who desire to better the conditions of the less fortunate of their fellows, and that the efforts directed to that end may win an ever-widening measure of firm achievement.

INAUGURATION OF THE INDIAN RADIO TELEGRAPH COMPANY'S WIRELESS BEAM SERVICE.

23rd July
1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Indian Radio Telegraph Company's Wireless Beam Service at Bombay on the 23rd July :—

Your Excellency, Sir Ibrahim, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Rather more than half a century ago communication by telegraph between India and England was first established. It is difficult for us now to visualise what this meant to residents in India in those days, and how great a change it brought into the lives of those who had interests and friendships in both countries. The gulf of space which had hitherto separated India from England by a 5 weeks' journey was from that moment bridged in as many days, and five years later, when direct submarine cable communication was completed, the separation could be counted in minutes and seconds of time. Those of us who all our lives have looked on telegraphy as a commonplace can scarcely picture a time when news between the two countries travelled no faster than a ship could sail and—try how you would—you could send or receive no news, seek no advice, expect no instructions within a month and more.

Inauguration of the Indian Radio Telegraph Company's Wireless Beam Service.

The further great development in telegraphy, now about to take place, will indeed make no such dramatic change. Cable communication between India and London is now virtually direct, and the new Beam System, though it must make us renew our wonder at this strange taming of Nature's mysterious powers, can hardly repeat the revolutionary innovation of the "sixties". But no one, I think, will be disposed to minimise the importance of this occasion, or to doubt that to-day we are forging a fresh link that will bind India to Great Britain and to the Empire yet more closely than before. I am very grateful to the Directors of the Indian Radio Telegraph Company for granting me the historic privilege of making the first use of a Service that creates another of those invisible ties, whose influence we do not easily measure and which, impalpable as they may seem, have a strength that will outlast even cables of woven wire.

You will be both interested and gratified to know that, recognising the importance of the connection of India with England by the Beam Wireless System, His Majesty the King-Emperor has graciously consented to receive the first message to be sent by the new Service. With your permission I will read to you the message which I now propose to transmit to His Majesty, and I will ask you then to have patience for a few minutes while it is sent out into space and, as I trust, a reply is received from His Majesty.

The message I shall send is as follows :—

“ Before a new Service is opened which will render possible for the first time reciprocal communication by wireless between India and the United Kingdom, I send to Your Majesty a message of respectful greeting on behalf of India. This Service will not only be of practical assistance in bringing more closely together the British and Indian peoples, but it is an expression of

Inauguration of the Indian Broadcasting Company's Broadcasting Service.

the closeness of the ties which unite them in loyalty to Your Majesty's person."

Gentlemen.—Since I left you a few minutes ago the message which I read out to you has been despatched to London, and His Majesty's gracious reply has just reached Bombay.

It is this—

"I thank Your Excellency for the loyal greeting which you have sent me on behalf of India to mark the inauguration of reciprocal wireless communication between India and this country.

I am deeply sensible of the feelings of loyalty which unite my Indian and my British peoples, and I am confident that the improvement of communications between the two countries which this new Service will achieve cannot fail to bring them still closer together to the advantage of both."

It is not necessary for me to express the gratification we all feel at this Royal Message to India. As we marvel at the speed and certainty with which it has been carried on unseen wings, ignoring all obstacles of sea and land we feel that we have witnessed an arresting exhibition of man's scientific knowledge and achievement, and we are pleased to think that the first application of this knowledge should have been to establish so swift and direct a personal contact between the King-Emperor and his Indian subjects.

INAUGURATION OF THE INDIAN BROADCASTING
COMPANY'S BROADCASTING SERVICE.

23rd July
1927.

At the ceremony of the inauguration of the Indian Broadcasting Company's Broadcasting Service at Bombay on the 23rd July, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

I am fully conscious of the importance of this occasion and much value the opportunity, which the Directors of

Inauguration of the Indian Broadcasting Company's Broadcasting Service.

the Indian Broadcasting Company have given me by asking me to open their Bombay station, of speaking through the medium of their service to a wider audience than I suppose a Viceroy has ever addressed before. Broadcasting in India is to-day in its infancy, but I have little doubt that, before many years are past, the numbers of that audience will have increased ten-fold, and that this new application of science will have its devotees in every part of India.

It is by a happy coincidence that I should have been able to inaugurate to-day two great features of wireless development. Earlier this afternoon I attended a ceremony in connection with the Beam Wireless Service between India and England, and witnessed an impressive example of the possibilities of that means of communication. A message of loyal greeting, which was despatched to His Majesty the King-Emperor, received a reply within five minutes. His Majesty's message to India, which I know you would like me to read to you, was as follows :—

“ I thank Your Excellency for the loyal greeting which you have sent me on behalf of India to mark the inauguration of reciprocal wireless communication between India and this country.

I am deeply sensible of the feelings of loyalty which unite my Indian and my British peoples, and I am confident that the improvement of communications between the two countries which this new Service will achieve cannot fail to bring them still closer together to the advantage of both.”

You will not be slow to appreciate the significance of the fact that the Royal message which I have just read to you was despatched from London barely an hour ago and is now being repeated to listeners scattered far and wide over this country. It should bring home to us

Inauguration of the Indian Broadcasting Company's Broadcasting Service.

forcefully the unifying power of wireless telegraphy and broadcasting ; and I do not doubt that in this new form of intercourse not only will all parts of this country find a common bond of union, but India itself will be placed in closer and more intimate touch with Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire.

India offers special opportunities for the development of broadcasting. Its distances and wide spaces alone make it a promising field. In India's remote villages there are many who, after the day's work is done, find time hang heavily enough upon their hands, and there must be many, officials and others, whose duties carry them into out-of-the-way places, where they crave for the company of their friends and the solace of human companionship. There are of course too in many households those whom social custom debar from taking part in recreation outside their own homes. To all these and many more broadcasting will be a blessing and a boon of real value. Both for entertainment and for education its possibilities are great, and as yet we perhaps scarcely realise how great they are. And here I must say a word in acknowledgment of what your Chairman has just said—that the policy of his Board will be carried out not only with a view to commercial profits but in a spirit of public service. There is, I think, nothing incompatible in the two. To achieve success broadcasting must, it is true, offer fare that is attractive to its public, and it must offer it in attractive form. This will be particularly true of India, but, though Indian conditions present peculiar difficulties, unless I sorely misjudge the skill and enterprise of those charged with this side of the work, I feel sure that they will produce such a programme that their public will succeed in deriving both instruction from pleasure and pleasure from instruction.

*Address of Welcome from the City Municipal Council of
Bangalore.*

You need have no doubt, Mr. Chairman, that my Government are as anxious as you are yourself for the success of the Indian Broadcasting Company, and in now declaring your Bombay Station open I am glad to give you an assurance that the Government of India will watch your progress with close and sympathetic interest, and will do everything in their power to assist the development on sound lines of this Indian enterprise.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CITY MUNICIPAL
COUNCIL OF BANGALORE.

In reply to the Address of Welcome from the City Municipal Council of Bangalore, presented to His Excellency at Bangalore on the 25th July, the Viceroy said :—

5th July
1927.

Mr. President and Gentlemen.—The pleasurable interest which Lady Irwin and I feel in this our first visit to Southern India has been heightened by the cordial and loyal welcome which we have received, on our arrival, from the City Municipal Council of Bangalore. We thank you sincerely for your address, and for the whole-hearted friendliness which it expresses towards us.

The greater part of your address confines itself, with happy brevity, to a history of progress achieved. I hope and believe that the inference I may draw from this is that Bangalore is fortunate in having already solved many problems which face those who, like yourselves, have been entrusted with the welfare of their fellow-citizens, and that you are keeping pace both with the constant growth of the city under your charge and with the gradually improving standard of life which recent years have, we may hope, brought to many cities in India. I feel sure that, in any further schemes you may contemplate for the improvement of your municipality, you will continue to enjoy the practical sympathy which you have in the past

*Address of Welcome from the Municipal Commission of the
Civil and Military Station of Bangalore.*

received from an enlightened and progressive Ruler, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

I think, gentlemen, that you can congratulate yourselves and your predecessors in office on having built well and wisely in the past, and look forward with confidence to the future of your town. It is not perhaps everyone who appreciates what a high standard of civic duty is demanded by the manifold activities which a Municipal Committee is called upon to undertake. I can assure you however that Government is fully alive to the value of the service done by bodies such as yours, and you yourselves have no doubt found in your work the unique satisfaction that comes from unselfish labour generously expended for the good of others.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL COM-
MISSION OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY STATION
OF BANGALORE.

25th July
1927.

The Municipal Commission of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore presented an Address of Welcome to the Viceroy at Bangalore on the 25th July, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

Gentlemen.—My first duty is to express the pleasure which Lady Irwin and I feel at the friendly welcome which Bangalore has given us, and we thank you, gentlemen, sincerely for the address which you have just been good enough to present to us on behalf of the Civil and Military Station. As representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it is my privilege also to acknowledge the expression of your loyalty to the Crown, to which we have listened with much gratification.

Bangalore has, I am afraid, not been alone in having to face a period of economic depression during these last few years, and I can only express the hope and belief that the courage and optimism with which you are facing your

*Address of Welcome from the Municipal Commission of the
Civil and Military Station of Bangalore.*

difficulties will be rewarded before long by an era of continuing prosperity.

I fully sympathise with you in your anxiety about the adequacy of your water-supply, for there are few spheres of Municipal administration which must claim greater attention on the part of those who are genuinely interested in the welfare of their fellow-citizens. I understand that the request of your Commission that a reduction should be made in your contribution to Government for your water-supply will shortly reach the Government of India. In the meantime I can give you no definite assurance except that your request will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration that it deserves. With you, I regret the delay in bringing to fruition the scheme for an increased water-supply which was approved in 1925, and I fear that in the intervening period your citizens, and especially perhaps the poorer classes, have been much inconvenienced by the lack of an adequate supply of water owing to successive failures of the North-East monsoon. It is a matter for congratulation that your measures for safeguarding from pollution the numerous wells which had to be opened owing to this scarcity proved so successful. I am informed that the delay in carrying out the main scheme has been due to technical difficulties inseparable from a work of this intricacy and this magnitude. In this matter wisdom demands that these obstacles should be clearly recognised in advance, and the sole desire of the Government of India is to arrive at a comprehensive and satisfactory solution of the whole problem, which, we must remember, concerns not only the Civil and Military Station but also the City of Bangalore.

I was pleased to listen to the assurance you have just given me of the interest your Commission takes in education, and I welcome this opportunity of congratulating you on the progress you have made, and of expressing my sympathy with the policy you have outlined of introduc-

*Address of Welcome from the Municipal Commission of the
Civil and Military Station of Bangalore.*

ing compulsory primary education. Government will follow the development of your plans with interest, and will continue, so far as they are able and as financial conditions permit, to support the educational demand that you may feel impelled to make.

I hope to have an opportunity, while I am in Bangalore, of seeing for myself the tangible proof of the progress which you have made during the last four years in carrying out works of public utility in your Municipality. I have heard of the active steps you have taken to relieve congestion in the more crowded areas, and to provide the poorer classes with living conditions in keeping with a progressive city such as this. I cannot but suppose that these improvements are entitled to some of the credit for the satisfactory decrease in infantile mortality which I noticed in your last annual report. I may perhaps make special mention of the works you have carried out in the two areas known as Austin and Tasker town, and I shall hope, if time allows, to visit some of your more recent model towns and to see for myself the way in which you are meeting your responsibilities in this direction.

The question which you have raised in your address of the amalgamation of civil and criminal work appears to be primarily a matter for local representation, and I have no doubt that careful consideration will be given to any arguments you may bring forward. I would however point out that the scheme, which is an experiment warranted by financial conditions, was only initiated in November 1926, and it is perhaps too early yet to judge finally of its merits or defects.

It only remains, gentlemen, to thank you again for the way in which you have welcomed us and to express, on behalf of Government, the gratitude that is due to you for devoting so much of your time and thought to the interests of this town, and to work which is so essential to the well-being of your fellow-citizens.

ADDRESS FROM THE MYSORE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

On the occasion of His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Mysore, the Mysore Municipality presented an Address of Welcome, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

29th July
1927.

Mr. President and Gentlemen.—It is with no ordinary pleasure and interest that Lady Irwin and I have been looking forward to our visit to the historic and beautiful city of Mysore, and it is particularly gratifying to us both that our arrival should have so nearly synchronised with the celebrations by his people of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness the Maharaja. In the ordered loveliness of Mysore City the influence of 25 years of his peaceful and beneficent rule is everywhere discernible. The natural beauties of your situation, under the shadow of holy Chamundi Hill, have been improved upon until, as you have not unjustly claimed, a few workmen's huts have been transformed into a veritable Garden City.

In thanking you, gentlemen, most sincerely for the cordial address of welcome presented to us this morning, I cannot but remark that it must be in no small measure due to your forethought and enterprise that Mysore to-day presents so smiling and so fair a countenance to delight the new-comer. The excellence of Mysore roads is proverbial; and the perfection of your system of electric lighting is at once the envy and the despair of many a township in British India.

I look upon this auspicious occasion as my formal introduction to Southern India; for, apart from a short visit to your sister-city of Bangalore, I have as yet seen only the North. It is therefore with keen interest and expectation that I approach for the first time the immortal civilisation of the Dravidian Peninsula, and one of the most admirably administered of the Indian Principalities. Since the Rendition of 1881, Mysore has been steadily earning the reputation of a Model State. Two wise and merciful Princes in the last half-century, aided by experienced officials, both Indian and British, and

Convocation of the Mysore University.

sustained by an enlightened popular opinion, have built upon solid foundations an edifice of good government of which all of you must indeed be proud.

This spirit has evidently spread widely over the field of local administration, and it is a source of the utmost satisfaction to Lady Irwin and myself to observe the rapid progress which is even now being made by the Municipality in the provision of much-needed social services. The extension of housing accommodation on modern lines for the poorer classes of your fellow-citizens, the solution of the beggar problem, the prevention and cure of that dread scourge tuberculosis, and the betterment of sanitation, are, I understand, among the laudable objects which you, the City Fathers, are at present labouring to achieve. May the highest success attend your efforts! In other directions the Mysore University, the State Agricultural Department, the Sivasamudram Water-works, and the magnificent Krishnarajasagara Reservoir stand as permanent testimony to the vision and genius of the people of Mysore, who may thus be stimulated by the tradition of achievement to keep burning the torch of enlightened progress.

Mr. President and Members of the Municipal Council, on behalf both of Lady Irwin and myself I thank you most heartily for the loyal and open-handed welcome which you have extended to us to-day.

CONVOCATION OF THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY.

29th July
1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy attended the Convocation of the Mysore University on the 29th July and received the Honorary Degree of a Doctor of Science from the University, making the following speech on that occasion :—

I am conscious of the high honour which this University has done to me by conferring on me the Honorary Degree of a Doctor of Science, and I value the

Convocation of the Mysore University.

words which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have been good enough to speak in regard to what you have termed my hereditary connection with Indian University. I thank you, Your Highness, and you, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, and the members of the University Senate for having given my name a coveted place in the rolls of this great seat of learning.

Degrees come to most of us by sheer hard work and study, by burning the midnight oil, by scorning delights and living laborious days. Most of us—may I say?—achieve degrees. Others more fortunate, like myself, have degrees thrust upon them. And I confess that, after reading the syllabus of subjects required of a candidate for the Degree of Bachelor of Science, I am not sorry that—as your Statutes put it—my “*eminent position*” has qualified me to take a short cut and easy path to my academic honours.

I too however, in my time, have trodden the more difficult road, and we must all ask ourselves, as I am going to ask you—especially the younger among you—, to think for a moment what it means to us to have reached the end of our University career. When the Bachelor’s hood and gown are at last thrown upon our shoulders, what do we feel they really represent? It should not be merely a feeling of relief that we have finished a series of troublesome examinations, which have pursued us since boyhood. And, if we think only of the material gain or position which our success is to bring, we have clearly been wasting the precious opportunities which a University education offers us. We no doubt derive legitimate satisfaction from the thought that the letters after our name are henceforth a token of intellectual achievement, but there are few, I hope, to whom a degree means no more than this. To those at any rate who have taken with both hands what a University has to bestow, it ought to mean that they have learned to think things out for themselves, have tested

Banquet at Mysore.

them in the great laboratory of truth, and have allotted to each its proper place in their scheme of life ; that they can show, in their culture and their character, the twin stamp of all that is best in University training ; and that they are now going out into the world determined to extend the frontiers of their knowledge, and to repay the debt they owe to their University by using to the best advantage the lessons it has taught them.

BANQUET AT MYSORE.

29th July 1927. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State, and in reply to His Highness' speech His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Lady Irwin and I are deeply grateful to Your Highness for the welcome which you have given us and for the kind things you have said about us to-night. Throughout our stay in Your Highness' State, we have been touched by the evidences of friendship and hospitality shown to us on every side.

Your Highness has been good enough to make the most generous references to me in your speech. I am indeed glad that I have been able to visit Mysore at the beginning of the second year of my office, and to make friends with Your Highness and Your Highness' people so early in the period of my Viceroyalty, though I confess that the warmth of the welcome we have received here has made me feel from the beginning that we were old friends. The kindly feeling that existed between Your Highness' grandfather and mine 65 years ago forms a fitting prelude to our friendship in the more peaceful but no less difficult times of to-day.

I feel that this friendship is begun—I might rather say renewed—on the eve of a most auspicious occasion, the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Your

Banquet at Mysore.

Highness' accession to power ; I take the liberty of offering Your Highness, on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself, the most sincere congratulations on Your Highness' Silver Jubilee.

We have looked forward with keen anticipation to our first visit to Your Highness' territory. I was naturally attracted by the prospect of visiting a State which has played so large a part in the history of Southern India from remote times, and which calls to mind so many interesting recollections of the first days of British Rule in India. I was anxious too to take an early opportunity of seeing for myself the proofs of the efficient and progressive administration which I had always understood was a feature of the government of this State. From the time of the rendition Mysore has fashioned her growing institutions on the model set by British India, and has striven faithfully to carry into effect the principles of good government. I do not hesitate to say that all that I have seen here has confirmed my expectation of finding a contented people and a State wisely governed.

Your Highness has asked for my advice on two matters—the development of irrigation and agriculture, and your scheme for railway extension. As regards irrigation and agriculture, I may say that, after reading the recently published report on the progress of agriculture in Mysore, I feel that there is little on which your Agricultural Department need ask for advice ; but I can assure you, as one who has been interested all his life in farming, that anything that I can do to assist the lot of the agriculturist in India will be done with the greatest pleasure and readiness. I must, however, express my great admiration for the irrigation works which Your Highness' Government have recently taken in hand so energetically. I understand that works have been sanctioned costing sixteen lakhs, of which nearly two-thirds is to be spent during the next three years on the reconstruction and repairing

Banquet at Mysore.

of tanks. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the enormous importance of this problem in Mysore as in so many other parts of India. I notice in the report to which I have just referred that the value of land in the State appreciates twenty times the moment perennial irrigation water is assured to it. Further evidence does not seem to be required as to the gain which will accrue to the State from a wise policy of irrigation, and I shall be keenly interested to hear of the progress of the scheme for constructing the high level canal which is intended to irrigate one hundred and twenty thousand acres.

I have heard too with great pleasure of the contemplated establishment of agricultural colonies for the depressed classes and also of the extensive organisation of preventive measures to combat epidemics among cattle. These measures afford further evidence of the extent to which Your Highness is alive to the importance of taking practical steps to promote the progress of your State.

The desire which Your Highness has expressed that the Mysore railways should be properly connected with the great neighbouring railway systems is natural and laudable, and my Government have been carefully considering the possibility of an extension towards the South, and a connection with the metre gauge system of the South Indian Railway. As Your Highness is aware, the problem is not an easy one, owing to the stretch of hilly country beyond the southern borders of Mysore and the expensive engineering works which the passage through these hills will entail. Surveys have, however, recently been made with a view to the connection with the South Indian Railway, and, until the results of these surveys have been examined and the financial implications properly assessed, it is not possible to promise that the necessary construction can be undertaken. It is, however, my hope that some solution of the problem may be found which will permit Your Highness' desire to be fulfilled.

Banquet at Mysore.

I now pass on to another subject, on which there has been much correspondence between Your Highness' Government and the Government of India, and to which Your Highness has referred to-night.

As Your Highness is aware, after the fall of Seringapatam and the overthrow and death of Tippu Sultan in 1799, the British Government restored Mysore to your grandfather, as the representative of the old Hindu Ruling family, and stipulated for an annual subsidy of 24½ lakhs of rupees as the price of protection. The dangers against which protection was required were then hammering at your doors, and, if, as a result of the protection extended, those particular perils have disappeared, and Your Highness lives in the heart of profoundest peace, he would be a bold, and I would add a foolish, man who could assert that the need for the protecting hand was less great than it had ever been, or that the dangers, if more remote, were any less real than in the early years of the 19th century.

In 1881, after 50 years of British administration, the State of Mysore was handed over to Your Highness' father, and certain Treaty obligations of the State were commuted, on terms favourable to the Durbar, for a further payment of 10½ lakhs.

Your Highness' Government has made frequent representations to the Government of India in favour of some reduction of these payments. The Government of India, while not failing to appreciate your point of view, has always held, as it holds to-day, that, having regard to the benefits conferred upon the State, the subsidy was not disproportionate. But there is room in the relations between a Paramount Power and those Rulers who acknowledge its paramountcy for other qualities besides strict justice. For many years we have watched and admired the maintenance and development of those high standards of administration which you have inherited

Banquet at Mysore.

from the great British administrators who nursed your State. We have not forgotten the noble services you have rendered to the British Government when the need for service was the greatest, and we are not blind to what Your Highness personally has done to set an example of the fashion in which the government of a great State should be conducted.

But we have also felt that so long as the Provincial contributions remained unliquidated, the Provinces must have first claim on any surplus we might enjoy. The analogy between the Provinces and the States is not of course complete, but they are alike in one respect—both have important work to do for the millions committed to their charge, and both want money to enable them to do it. We have now been able to remit for this year, and I hope for ever, the contributions formerly payable by the Provinces, and we have been therefore more free to consider your representations, no longer hampered by that particular impediment. Mysore has perhaps a longer tradition of progressive government than any other State in India, and the Government of India can feel assured that any relief which they may feel it in their power to give will enure to the benefit of the people of your State.

Your Highness, the Government of India, reviewing all these and other considerations, have come to the conclusion that generosity may often be the highest statesmanship, and have accordingly decided to remit in perpetuity, with effect from next financial year, 10½ lakhs out of the annual subsidy you now pay, thus reducing the amount to the sum originally fixed by the Treaty of 1799. The remission I now announce might have come more appropriately three or four years hence on the fiftieth anniversary of the Rendition, but it is a matter of real pleasure to me to be able to announce, on the occasion of my first visit to your State, this practical recognition of the regard we have for the spirit in which Your Highness

Addresses from the Municipal Council of Ootacamund and the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris.

has maintained the traditions of government, to which you found yourself the heir. In this matter too we are not acting without precedent. This extra payment was, at its first imposition, out of consideration for the financial situation in the State, remitted for a period of years, and, as those responsible for the government of India in that day decided to assist Mysore at the moment when those entrusted with its administration were on the threshold of their task, so we are inspired with the desire to assist Your Highness to make further progress in the discharge of the trust committed to your hands.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in wishing all prosperity to the State of Mysore, and to drink to the health of our distinguished host, His Highness the Maharaja.

ADDRESSES FROM THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF
OOTACAMUND AND THE HILL TRIBES OF THE
NILGIRIS.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following joint reply to the Addresses of Welcome from the Municipal Council of Ootacamund and the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris, presented at Ootacamund on the 2nd August :—

2nd August
1926.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—Lady Irwin and I are most grateful to the Municipal Council and the Hill Tribes for this cordial welcome to Ootacamund. We have heard its praises so often sung that we have looked forward with more than usual pleasure to visiting your hill station, and from what we have already seen of the country, we feel confident that our anticipation is not likely to be disappointed. To Englishmen in India Ootacamund has an attraction of its own, for there is no place, I think, in India which reminds them so vividly of the green rolling downs of their own country.

Addressees from the Municipal Council of Ootacamund and the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris.

The brief sketch of the history of Ootacamund contained in the Municipal address has recalled the fact that it is now exactly a hundred years since, owing largely to the enthusiasm of Mr. Sullivan, this place was formally established as the sanatorium of the Madras Presidency. In the century that has passed since then, man's hand has certainly made the most of the bountiful gifts of nature, and you, gentlemen, have under your charge what must be one of the most beautiful municipalities in India. I feel sure that you and your successors will not fail to maintain this enviable reputation, or to meet the further responsibilities which may be thrown upon you by the growing popularity of this station as a health resort.

I had, as you say, already taken much interest in the Pykara hydro-electric scheme and the possibilities of industrial expansion which a supply of cheap electric power will offer. I trust that this enterprise has before it a great future. The financial success of the venture will depend largely on the rate of growth of the load, and I hope therefore that all owners of industrial concerns will take full advantage of the project.

I must thank you for your hospitable invitation to visit your hill station again, later in the period of my Viceroyalty. Lady Irwin and I well realise that we shall find our visit all too short, and that Ootacamund is an easier place to come to than to leave. But the Viceroy unfortunately cannot always consult his own pleasure, and I dare not at present indulge too freely the hope that I may be able to repeat this enjoyable experience. I am therefore particularly glad that I should have been able to-day to meet such a large number of the various peoples of these hills. The address in which the Hill Tribes have picturesquely described their history and their customs was so interesting that I would willingly have listened to them at greater length, and I hope during my stay here

Visit to the Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School at Lovedale, the Nilgiris.

to make myself better acquainted with them. I envy them the country in which they have dwelt so long. Indeed the spell which its beauty casts on the beholder is, I believe, as strong as any magic that a Kurumba can exert upon a Badaga.

At the close of the Municipal address you have offered me your good wishes for the heavy task which lies before me—rather, which lies before us all—of helping to shape the future of this country. The vastness and diversity of the problem are indeed powerfully borne in upon anyone who has done a continuous three days' railway journey from the north to the south of India, and has watched all the differences of country, climate, character and race which meet his eyes. I am glad to know that I shall have behind me the good-will of bodies such as yours in approaching this intricate and absorbing problem, and I can only echo your hope that wisdom may be given to all, whose work it is to guide India—as you well say—to her haven of peace, concord and good-will.

VISIT TO THE LAWRENCE MEMORIAL ROYAL MILITARY SCHOOL AT LOVEDALE, THE NILGIRIS.

His Excellency the Viceroy attended a Service in the Chapel of the Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School at Lovedale, the Nilgiris, on Sunday the 7th August. His Excellency afterwards inspected a parade of the boys and girls and, on being asked to address a few words to them, spoke as follows :—

7th August
1927.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, Boys and Girls,—I am not going to make you a speech, so you needn't be afraid that you are going to be kept here very long as far as I am concerned. But I want to tell you how glad I am to have had the opportunity of seeing you this morning on parade and of speaking to you here. I always like looking at Schools, but I have a particular reason for

*Visit to the Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School at
Lovedale, the Nilgiris.*

being glad to have had the chance of seeing you this morning. I have always heard about Lovedale, of what it is and what it does, and I have always wanted to see it ever since I came to India ; because a great many of you here, some time or another—either while I am Viceroy or under some future Viceroy—will pass into the service of Government in India ; and I am therefore glad to have had the chance of seeing the material from which a good deal of the service of Government in the future is likely to be recruited.

I suppose that it is more true of a school than of anything else in life that a great part of it is its tradition ; and you are quite old enough here to have your traditions—as I know you do have them—and to realise something of what those traditions stand for. In all walks of life ‘ tradition ’ is a word we very often hear used. It means, I think, the unwritten experience, the unwritten codes of conduct, that we inherited from those who went before us. All that mass of inherited experience—unwritten—is what we call tradition, and, as you will all learn to know, it is a very powerful thing all over the world. Nowhere is it more powerful—or, I think, ought it to be more powerful—than in a great school ; and the larger of those among you know—and I want the younger among you to know too—really what a ‘ public school tradition ’, as we call it, is. Most of it was contained in that psalm that we sang in Chapel just now, and I think, for the rest, it may be summed up in trying to be loyal to your friends, to be perfectly straight with yourself, to play the game, and always to throw your weight upon the side of straight living and clear thinking. That is what we call the public school tradition. But no tradition can afford to be only a thing of the past. If a tradition is to do what it ought for a school, or for any part of society, the tradition must all the time be, as it were, being brought back to youth—

Visit to the Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School at Lovedale, the Nilgiris.

being enriched, being made new, being made fresh, by becoming a real part of the life of each and every person who owes allegiance to it. That is what you have got to do in your school, and that is what we all have to do—the oldest among us—in the great school into which you will pass when you leave this school—the School of Life.

One other thing the public school tradition does. It teaches you the power and the faculty of command, of leadership. You have your corporals and your sergeants among you, boys in charge of your dormitories, and they are learning to use authority over other boys, to see that the show runs straight, and so on, and that is training them in the faculty of leadership. And I think that the English race—we, you, your parents, all of us—can say that that gift of leadership is one of the best things that the English race has got. Now, it is not a thing to swag-ger about, nor ought it make us think that we are better than other people; but it is a thing to use for good wherever we may happen to be. And I want you—all of you—, if you will, as you get older to try and exercise that leadership in the one way in which it is open to everybody to exercise it. It is not open to everybody to have what are thought to be important jobs, important positions and so on, but it is open to everybody to have an opportunity of leadership in service. Now there is lots of work for everybody to do in the world—in India and elsewhere—in all of which you can exercise that leadership of service. Most of you are the sons of soldiers. To most of you—certainly the younger ones—the Great War in which your parents took part is, I suppose, only a bit of history. You are not old enough to remember it. I want to tell you something connected with that war, and it is the last thing I want to say.

Visit to the Lawrence Memorial Royal Military School at Lovedale, the Nilgiris.

Towards the end of the War a great many officers and men, who had had to do much of the fighting in Flanders at a place you must have heard of often enough—Ypres—gradually—almost by mistake—founded and came to use together a house in a place called Poperinghe, where they all used to meet, irrespective and regardless of rank, and where they used, as it were, to make a little bit of home before they went in to the battle. After the War the people who had been mainly concerned with it organised a little sort of society, a fellowship to keep alive, as it were, that spirit of oneness and of comradeship that had grown out of those dark and sad days in that little spot in Flanders ; and that society exists to-day all over the world under the title of Toc H. And when they enrol a member, they have a little ceremony in which he is urged to give what he can to the cause of what I have called service, that is to say, trying to make the world a little better than you found it. Then he is asked "What is service?" and the answer that he has to give, which I want you to remember, is that "Service is the rent that we pay for our room on earth".

Well, that is the last thing that I want to say, but it is the thing that I want you to remember as you get older. I want you to remember that whether it is your time, or your talents, or your opportunities, or your training, for all of that you and I are trustees and have to do the best we can with them, not to amuse ourselves and please ourselves, but to try and make the world a little bit better than we found it.

That is all that I am going to say, and I am afraid it has been rather like a tiresome lecture. I don't want it to be that, but I want you, if you will, to try and remember as you grow older just that one thing about service.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

Now I want to say something much more pleasant—I see one or two have already begun to guess what I am going to say—and that is that in honour of my visit I have asked Mr. Padfield if he would add a week on to the next term ! (Laughter). I mean if he would add a week on to your next holidays. He said that he would be very pleased indeed to do it. He is not sure whether you would like it but, if you would, he would be very pleased to do it either at Christmas or some other convenient time.

I hope that when you have that week you will enjoy it. I don't think I can wish you anything better, all through your school life and after it, than that as you grow up you should grow up worthy of the great soldier-statesman, in whose memory we are all here, and as he would himself have wished you to be. (Loud applause).

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE
COMBINED LEGISLATURES.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Combined Legislatures at Simla on the 29th August as follows :—

29th August
1927.

Gentlemen,—Little more than a year ago I invited India to pause and consider seriously the communal situation, and I then appealed to leaders and rank and file to pursue peace and cultivate a spirit of toleration towards one another. For several months past I have had it in mind again to speak to the conscience and heart of India upon that question which still dwarfs all others in her life, but I have felt some doubt as to the most convenient means of doing it. I finally came to the conclusion that there was no more appropriate way of reaching the ear of the multitudes of India than by addressing them through the representatives of India in the Central Legislature. Accordingly I decided, in exercise of the statutory privilege conferred upon me by the

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

Government of India Act, to ask the members of the Legislature to meet me here to-day, and I am gratified that so large a number of Hon'ble Members of both Houses should have been able to attend.

Let me recall the salient incidents of India's recent history.

I am not exaggerating when I say that, during the 17 months that I have been in India, the whole landscape has been overshadowed by the lowering clouds of communal tension, which have repeatedly discharged their thunderbolts, spreading far throughout the land their devastating havoc.

From April to July last year Calcutta seemed to be under the mastery of some evil spirit, which so gripped the minds of men that in their insanity they held themselves absolved from the most sacred restraints of human conduct. Honest citizens went abroad in peril of their lives from fanatical attack, and the paralysis that overtook the commercial life of a great metropolis was only less serious than the civic loss that flowed from a naked and unashamed violation of the law, which perforce had to be reasserted by methods drastic and severe. Since then we have seen the same sinister influences at work in Patna, Rawalpindi, Lahore and many other places, and have been forced to look upon that abyss of unchained human passions that lies too often beneath the surface of habit and of law.

In less than 18 months, so far as numbers are available, the toll taken by this bloody strife has been between 250 and 300 killed, and over 2,500 injured. While angry temper reigns we are not always sensible of the tragedy that lies behind figures such as these. The appreciation of it is dulled in the poisoned atmosphere, which for the time prevails, suggesting that such things are inseparable from the defence of principles jealously revered, and

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

tempting men to forget how frequently in history the attempt has been made to cloak such crimes against society in honourable guise. But let us translate these things into terms of human sorrow and bereavement, and let our minds dwell in pity and in shame upon the broken human lives that they represent, mothers robbed of sons whose welfare they counted more precious than their own, the partnership of lives severed, the promise of young life denied. The sorrows of war are often mercifully redeemed, as many of us have known, by an element of self-sacrifice that transfigures and consecrates them to the achievement of some high purpose. But here, over these domestic battlefields, sorrow holds sway unredeemed by any such transforming power, and speaks only of the senseless and futile passions that have caused it.

Nor are the many houses of mourning the only measure of the damage which is being done to India. Is there not much in Indian social life that still cries out for remedy and reform and which enlightened India of to-day would fain mould otherwise? Nowhere perhaps is the task before the reformers more laborious; for in India civilisation is agelong, immemorial; and all things are deep-rooted in the past. United must be the effort if it is to gain success; and on the successful issue of such work depends the building of the Indian nation. Yet the would-be builders must approach their task sorely handicapped and with heavy heart, so long as the forces to which they would appeal are distracted and torn by present animosities. For nothing wholesome can flourish in unwholesome soil, and no one may hope to build a house to stand against the wind and the rain and the storm of life upon foundations that are rotten and unsound.

And what shall we say of the effect of these troubles upon India's progress in the field of constitutional evolution? There are many who hold that the very

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

reforms that were designed to lead India along the peaceful road of political development have by reason of the political power that they conferred been directly responsible for the aggravation of these anxieties. True it most certainly is that national self-government must be founded upon the self-government and self-control of individuals. Where private citizens do not possess these qualities, political self-government of a nation is an empty name, and merely serves to disguise under an honourable title the continuance of something perilously akin to civil war.

And thus this problem, of which the reactions upon the future of India must be so intimate, is a problem with which Great Britain not less than India is vitally concerned. For India desires to win self-government, and it is Great Britain's self-appointed task to guide her to this end. Surely it is evident that those who desire to win, and those who desire to lend assistance in the winning, are mutually and vitally confronted with the necessity of laying the spectre that besets the path of their common hopes. By the logic of our purpose or desires, we are partners in the task, and no one of us can here shirk or decline responsibility. Of the burden which India's unhappy disunion imposes on Government, the figures I gave earlier in my speech are eloquent. It is our inalienable duty to preserve order and to vindicate the law. We may make mistakes in doing it; there are few human beings who can avoid them; but if we make them, they are, believe me, mistakes made in the cause of a genuine attempt to discharge the difficult and painful duty that is ours.

But I cannot reconcile it with my conception of a real and effective partnership in this matter between Great Britain and India to confine the responsibility, either of myself or my Government, to a mere repression of disorder. Necessary as that is, the situation, as I see it to-day, demands a more constructive effort.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

A year ago an appeal was made to me by many men of influence and distinction that I should take the initiative in convening a conference to examine any means that might hold out promise of amelioration. For reasons which seemed to me convincing, I thought it inadvisable to take that step ; and I have not wavered in my conviction that my decision was well-founded. But the passage of events between that time and this has compelled me perpetually to review the grounds on which I then formed my judgment. I had hoped that, in answer to my appeal to the communities, it might not have been impossible that they themselves, freely taking counsel together, might have reached an agreement genuine, convinced and thus effective, that would have brought much desired and long-sought relief from these distractions. In this respect my hopes have been disappointed. Partial agreements, it is true have been reached in regard to this or that aspect of the problem, reflecting much honour upon those who exposed themselves, I do not doubt, to considerable risk with many of their own friends in making them. But, so far as I can judge, those agreements have failed to offer that fundamental solution of the problem, and to gain that measure of acceptance, which are necessary if we are to win through the present distress. And one condition remains constant, which is, as I said last year, that no conference can offer any hope of success unless those participating in it are truly inspired with a will to peace.

It was with real pleasure that I observed statements recently in the press which indicated that fresh efforts might be made to bring together Hindus and Muslims for the discussion of these matters. Any such attempt deserves the active good-will and support of all who care for India's welfare and good name. I myself have long been considering anxiously whether any action by Government could help to stimulate that general desire of reconciliation without which nothing can be done. It is not easy, or

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

perhaps possible, for me to give a positive or assured answer to these reflections. In matters of this kind, each man must search his own heart and answer for himself whether he does in truth and without reserve desire to play his part as an apostle of peace, and whether those associated with him are like-minded. But this I can say. If it were represented to me by the responsible leaders of the great communities that they thought a useful purpose might be served by my convening a conference myself with the object of frankly facing the causes of these miserable differences, and then in a spirit of determined good-will considering whether any practical solution or mitigation of them could be found, I should welcome it as evidence of a firm resolve to leave no way unsearched that might disclose means of rescuing India from her present unhappy state. And, if these representations were made by those who occupy such a position in their communities as to permit me to assume that the communities would accept and abide by any decisions at which they might arrive on their behalf, then, allying myself with them and such other leaders of public thought as might be willing to assist, I should gladly and cordially throw my whole energies into this honourable quest.

I have been told that any such efforts are foredoomed to failure, and that all we might accomplish would be to contribute a few more barren pages to the story of unprofitable discussions. I do not underestimate the difficulties ; I do not minimise the risk of failure. But difficulties are meant to be surmounted, and outward success or failure is not the sole or the final test of conduct in this sphere. After all, many of the greatest ventures in human history have sprung from what the world deemed failures. At any given time the evil forces of life may be so strong that the efforts we can make against them appear unavailing. Yet to allow this thought to drive us into a posture of feeble acquiescence in something

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures against which our whole moral sense rebels, and into losing our will for better things, this surely would be deliberately to turn our back upon everything that makes life worth living.

There is an epitaph in a small country churchyard of England upon an English country gentleman, whose lot had been cast in those unhappy days of English history, when England too was torn by religious strife. It runs as follows :—

“ In the year 1643, when all things sacred were either demolished or profaned, this Church was built by Sir Francis Shirley, Baronet, whose singular praise it is to have done the best things in the worst times, and to have hoped them in the most calamitous.”

I doubt whether higher testimony could be paid to any man, or more concise expression given to the forces by which this world is moved.

There must surely have been times during these latter months when Indian patriots, gazing upon their motherland, bruised by this internecine and senseless struggle, must have been hard put to it to maintain their faith in India's destiny untarnished, and when many must have been even tempted to hate the very name of religion, which ought to be man's greatest solace and reward. Yet may it not be that the purpose of these trials has been to test the calibre of our faith, and that some day, when the testing time is past, those, who with trust in their hearts, and hope in their eyes, have striven unceasingly to spread kindly feeling among their fellowmen, will reap for India a reward that will repay tenfold the bitter cost at which it has been purchased ?

You will forgive me, Gentlemen, for speaking in a strain that may seem to some to accord ill with the hard facts of life and the common atmosphere of politics. But

Deputation of the Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.

I believe—and I think India believes—in the power of spiritual forces to assert themselves over their material expression by which they may often be betrayed. And it is because of this belief that is hers and mine that I have ventured once more to trace out the only path along which India can lead her peoples to take their appropriate part in the fulfilment of the ordered purpose for humanity.

A DEPUTATION OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE HEAD-ED BY SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS WAITED UPON THE VICEROY ON THE MORNING OF THE 17TH SEPTEMBER, AT VICEREGAL LODGE TO REPRESENT THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

17th September 1927. His Excellency, after hearing the deputation, made the following reply :—

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting such a representative and distinguished deputation upon a matter of such widespread interest and concern to the Indian people. The depth of that interest and feeling my Government fully recognise.

It is a subject on which, as past events have frequently shown, there is no difference of principle between official and non-official, and in regard to which we can all work closely together in the task of safeguarding the honour and well-being of Indian communities which have settled in other parts of the Empire. I have as you have observed particular and personal reasons for attachment to the tradition of active sympathy towards legitimate Indian aspirations in overseas affairs, which I have inherited from my predecessors. I first became connected with the affairs of Indians in Kenya when I was at the Colonial Office, and when after very long deliberations it fell to me to take

Deputation of the Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.

official part in the agreement with which my name and the name of my friend—Lord Winterton—are associated, and to which you have kindly referred to-day. I was subsequently a Member of the Cabinet that approved the White Paper of 1923, and I think therefore that I may claim a certain measure of familiarity with these questions. I would only say that the object which throughout all these recent years I, in conjunction with my then colleagues, have consistently sought to pursue has been the promotion of the true interests of Imperial solidarity, and that you may rely on me always to give the best service that I can to the maintenance of friendly relations between India and the other parts of the British Commonwealth, of which she is an integral part.

You have referred in your address to feelings of apprehension that have been aroused by the decision of His Majesty's Government to appoint a Commission to investigate and report on certain aspects of future policy in regard to Eastern Africa. You have also stated that your misgivings have been intensified by a speech delivered by Sir Edward Grigg, in which he is reported to have stated that His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies had accepted the recommendations of the Feetham Commission on Local Government in Kenya, and in which he foreshadowed a change in the constitution of the Legislature, giving an elected majority.

I will deal first with the Commission which His Majesty's Government have decided to appoint to enquire and report on the future administration of the East African territories. It is not necessary for me, I think, to traverse fully the ground which was ably covered only the other day by Sir Md. Habibullah in debate. As you will have observed from the terms of reference, the Commission is to investigate and report, among other matters, on the

Deputation of the Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.

possibility of associating more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country. This appears to be the only important respect in which the policy enunciated in the Command Paper of July 1927 differs from the White Paper entitled "Indians in Kenya", which was issued in 1923. The Command Paper of July 1927, from which I have quoted, specifically refers to the claim of the immigrant communities to share in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government. It seems a legitimate inference from this wording that the claims of Indians, who constitute an important section of these communities, to such association will be investigated by the Commission.

You have also urged that the change of policy embodied in this White Paper appears radically to challenge the declaration made in the White Paper entitled "Indians in Kenya", issued in 1923, that His Majesty's Government regarded the grant of responsible self-Government in Kenya as out of the question within any period of time that needed then to be taken into consideration. The recent White Paper does not appear to me to contemplate such a step, at least in the near future, and I observe that the Secretary of State for the Colonies speaking in the House of Commons on July 19th expressly said that the question of responsible self-Government was not implied in this White Paper any more than it was implied in the White Paper of 1923.

It will be perhaps convenient if, before I pass on to the reported announcement of His Excellency Sir Edward Grigg, I deal with the three constructive suggestions which you have made in regard to the Commission.

Your first suggestion is for adequate representation on the Commission. As soon as the Government of India were informed of the intentions of His Majesty's Govern-

Deputation of the Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.

ment to appoint the Commission, representations were made for the inclusion in it of some one conversant with Indian conditions. In the same speech to which I have alluded the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that the Secretary of State for India would be asked to nominate one member of the Commission. On the 18th August, in the course of the debate on the adjournment motion moved in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. K. C. Roy, the unofficial members strongly expressed the view that there should be adequate representation of Indians on the Commission, and Sir Muhammad Habibullah promised to forward a summary of the proceedings to His Majesty's Secretary of State. This has been done. The Government of India fully appreciate the general view of the people of this country that Indian interests should be represented by Indians, and do their best to give effect to it. At the same time, of course, the decision on the question of composition of the Commission must rest with His Majesty's Government, who are in the best position to consider the various factors by which their choice of the *personnel* must be determined, and who are not unmindful of the vital Indian interests involved.

Your second suggestion that a small deputation should be sent by my Government to East Africa, in order to assist the Indians there in the preparation of their case, has already been engaging the attention of my Government.

Your third suggestion, that, before His Majesty's Government come to any decision on the report of the Commission, the Government of India should be allowed to make representations on points affecting India through a Committee appointed by them, had not so far been considered by us. My Government were primarily occupied with the

Deputation of the Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.

question of steps which, in their opinion, were immediately necessary to safeguard Indian interests, and it is possible that it might be wiser as regards this particular proposal to await the Commission's findings before deciding upon any subsequent action which it might then be wise to take. I can assure you however that what you have said on this point will receive careful and sympathetic consideration.

Let me now refer briefly to the speech which His Excellency the Governor of Kenya is reported to have made recently on his return to the Colony. As you observe, the position regarding both the points alleged to have been touched on in the report, *viz.*, the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Feetham Report, and the possibility of the introduction of an elective majority in the Legislative Council of the Colony, is obscure. As soon as we saw Reuter's summary of the speech, we telegraphed for the official text of the speech, and for a summary of the recommendations of the Feetham Commission to be cabled to us, but we have not yet received a reply to our telegram. You will, therefore, understand that it is not possible for me to say at this stage what action, if any, my Government may feel it appropriate to take. You may, however, rest fully satisfied that my Government and I are under no misapprehension as to the importance to the Indian community in Kenya both of adequate representation on local bodies and of the character and composition of the majority in the Colonial Legislative Council; and that, if and as circumstances require it, we shall do everything in our power to secure adequate protection for legitimate Indian interests.

I think I have dealt, so far as I am able, with all the points which the deputation has included in their statement. Before I conclude there is one observation of a

Deputation of the Indian Legislature on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.

more general character which it is perhaps worth while to make.

I cannot help feeling that it is hardly in the nature of things that these questions in East Africa should be unaffected by the recent developments in the relations of India with South Africa, due to the work done by our deputation there under the able leadership of Sir Md. Habibullah, the impression created by the personality, character and labours of Mr. Sastri, and last but by no means least the untiring efforts of Mr. Andrews, whose inclusion in your number on this occasion I warmly welcome. The spirit of South Africa will not, I most earnestly trust, be without its influence outside and beyond the territories of the Union. And therefore, though we are rightly anxious about any changes that may adversely affect the position of Indians overseas, it is surely also right that we should remember that the atmosphere in which these problems fall to be considered to-day is different to, and I think more favourable than, that which perhaps prevailed even a few years ago. For my own part, I see no reason to doubt that with patience and good will on both sides we shall succeed in bringing to gradual solution these questions, on which so much depends, not only for India and Great Britain, or even the British Empire, but for all humanity.

I think that is all that I can usefully say at this juncture beyond repeating that it has given me great pleasure to have received you, and I sincerely hope that, if assurance is needed, what I have said will leave you in no doubt that the subject which has brought you here to-day is one on which the Government of India feel not less deeply than yourselves, and that they are both anxious and determined to leave nothing undone which it is in their power

Opening of the Ferozepore Headworks.

to do to uphold the status and honour of the Indian communities in the territories comprehensively described as Eastern Africa.

OPENING OF THE FEROZEPORE HEADWORKS.

25th October
1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the opening of the Ferozepore Headworks of the Sutlej Valley Project, on the 25th October :—

Your Excellencies and Gentlemen.—It was a great disappointment to me that I was unable to accept His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey's invitation last year to perform the opening ceremony of the headworks at Suleimanke. The wonders of Indian irrigation—especially perhaps Punjab irrigation—are so deservedly famous throughout the world that I was keenly looking forward both to seeing one of your latest engineering triumphs, and to identifying myself with another great step in the development of this Province. Since then I have had the opportunity of visiting Suleimanke and many other great irrigation works in British India and in Indian States, and the more that I have seen the more have I come to appreciate the inestimable value of the work, which Irrigation Officers in various parts of India have performed in the past and are performing every day. It is therefore with the keenest pleasure that I find myself here to-day to open the second completed headworks of the Sutlej Valley project. In the next three days I hope to perform two other functions connected with the inauguration of this scheme, and I think myself fortunate to be able thus to gain so full a picture of the main outlines of this great system.

The history of the growth of perennial canal irrigation in India is indeed an enthralling story. We have travelled

Opening of the Ferozepore Headworks.

far from the old indigenous systems, from Feroz Shah's 14th century canal which led water to his hunting box in Hissar, from the old Jumna system which included a branch to give water to the Imperial gardens and palace fountains at Delhi. The Khanwah of the Upper Sutlej Canals has itself a long history. It is recorded that it was improved by Mirza Khan, a minister of the Emperor Akbar, and again was retrieved from neglect in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

From origins such as these the great development of perennial irrigation in India has had its rise. Since the construction of the great classic irrigation works—the Ganges Canal, the Upper Bari Doab Canal, and the Godaveri Delta system—there has been no pause in the activity of extension or in the improvements in methods of design and construction. Much of the credit is due to the wise policy of Government in the past ; but even more is owed to the devotion and the skill of a succession of engineers, to the advice of generations of revenue officers, and to the co-operation of Indians in the execution and development of the great projects. It has been the history of a great partnership for a noble and wholly beneficent purpose, and I would like to take this opportunity of paying my tribute, Sir Malcolm, to your officers of the Punjab Irrigation Department, on whose skill and devoted services the present material prosperity of the Province has been so largely based. At this moment particularly I am thinking of the debt we owe to you, Mr. Hadow, to your predecessor Mr. Foy, to Mr. Ives, to Mr. Burkitt and all those others to whom you have just made reference in your speech. To Mr. H. W. Nicholson too we are indebted for many years of valuable work and I am very glad to be able to congratulate him on receiving the decoration of Companion of the Indian Empire which the King has to-day been pleased to confer upon him.

Opening of the Ferozepore Headworks.

There are three other names which I wish to associate myself with Mr. Hadow in bringing to your notice for the excellent work they have done :—Lala Daya Krishna Khanna, Lala Amar Nath and Lala Jai Gopal Chopra. It gives me great pleasure to be able to announce that in recognition of their services the title of “ Rai Sahib ” has to-day been conferred on these three gentlemen.

The full fruits of irrigation could not, however, have been gathered without the wholehearted participation of the land-owners and cultivators ; and to the sturdy peasantry belongs no small part of the credit for the success which the great irrigation schemes in the Punjab have achieved. They have cleared and levelled lands ; they have dug water-courses ; they have brought barren acres under the plough. They have helped both in the construction and maintenance of channels ; they distribute the water among themselves after it issues from the village outlets. They have been quick to introduce and adopt improved classes of crops, and to help in seed selection and distribution. It has been a great association of officials and non-officials, of British and Indians, in a work in which all alike can take just pride.

To-day perennial canals in India irrigate every year nearly 30 million acres—an area some three times the size of Denmark—and the total length of the channels and distributaries which bring the life-giving waters to these lands would more than girdle the earth twice over. To this achievement the Punjab has made a wonderful contribution. More than a third of the irrigated area lies within the bounds of this Province, and, in addition to possessing some of the largest and most interesting works from the technical point of view, it is to the Punjab that the credit belongs of some of the most striking features in canal development.

Opening of the Gang Canal, Bikaner.

It is now my pleasant duty, Gentlemen, to inaugurate the opening of the works we see before us. Mr. Hadow has said that they aspire to no architectural beauty. I am not so sure. In man's handiwork, as in nature, beauty and strength are often one. The clean vigour and classic outline of a structure such as this lend a grandeur to the river which it could not boast before, and are an omen that this work will endure for many years to spread its beneficent influence over the face of the country it commands. Let us rejoice to see the vagrant waters of the ancient Satadru—the "river of a thousand streams"—forced into a well-behaved and orderly course, to see them sent stealing into the heart of the immemorial desert, bringing fresh youth to withered soil and fresh hope to hearts which had never dreamt of streams of water such as these.

OPENING OF THE GANG CANAL, BIKANER.

In opening the Gang Canal at Bikaner on the 26th October 26th October
His Excellency the Viceroy said :— 1927.

Your Highness, Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I owe Your Highness a debt of gratitude for having invited me to perform this historic ceremony to-day, and I must further thank you, on Lady Irwin's behalf and on my own, for the very cordial manner in which you have just welcomed us to your State. I know that I speak for every member of this great gathering here to-day when I say that we are deeply grateful for all the trouble you have taken to enable so large a company to attend this memorable occasion. Your Highness has, I have no doubt, long dreamt of this day, and of all that it means to thousands of your subjects. And so to us it is a real happiness to be able through your kindness to share in

Opening of the Gang Canal, Bikaner.

those glad feelings, which come when hope wins fulfilment, and achievement comes at last to crown the long period of effort and anxiety. I am indeed glad to think that this canal, which is destined to bring such inestimable benefits to Bikaner, should bear Your Highness' name and thus be a memorial, for generations yet to come, of a ruler to whose foresight, enthusiasm, and devotion to the progress of his State, they will surely owe so much.

Yesterday I had the good fortune to perform the opening ceremony of the headworks at Ferozepore to which this canal traces its source. We now stand 85 miles, as the water flows, from that spot, and find the streams of the Sutlej guided safely by an infinity of skill and labour to the borders of Bikaner. As Your Highness has just pointed out, special efforts have been made that none should be lost by the way, and I trust that the extensive concrete lining, which constitutes a unique feature of this canal, may be found completely to serve its purpose, and assure you a steady and adequate flow of water even at this great distance from the head of the supply.

The canal starts upon its mission of service under the happiest auspices. Thanks to Your Highness' foresight the land about to be irrigated has, as you have just pointed out, already been sold to cultivators, who are therefore in a position to take advantage of the water as soon as it is delivered to them, and I was interested to hear Your Highness refer to the favourable conditions of tenure on which settlers are to hold their land. I listened with much pleasure to the appreciative terms in which Your Highness referred to Mr. Rudkin's services in this connection, and I venture to forecast that ere long many of the unproductive districts of your State will have become a prosperous colony.

Opening of the Gang Canal, Bikaner.

By Your Highness' enterprise again the building of the canal loop of the State Railway, in anticipation of the completion of the canal itself, should give cultivators the opportunity of finding an easy market for their produce without delay.

The construction of the canal itself has been greatly facilitated by Your Highness' cordial support and by the active assistance rendered by your State officials. It is with especial pleasure that I heard you speak of the close co-operation between the State Railway and the Punjab irrigation staff, without which the difficulties of the work must have been much more formidable. It was indeed a great feat that all the materials for the concrete lining of the canal should have been transported without a hitch by Your Highness' railway, and I appreciate how much credit is due to your Manager, Mr. Fearfield, and the officers who have been working under him. Your Highness has mentioned others to whom we are indebted for the successful completion of this work. I wish to endorse every word of commendation which you have uttered, and will only add that your best assurance for the permanent success of this canal is that it should have been designed and constructed by the Punjab Irrigation Department.

But it is as inalienable as it is an invaluable quality of human nature to reach constantly forward, and therefore I fully sympathise with Your Highness' anxiety that the Bhakra dam scheme should in due course be carried into effect. Whether the exhaustive enquiry which the Punjab Government are now making into the various matters connected with this project will prove it to be practicable or not I cannot at present say, but I shall await the result of the enquiry with deep interest.

Banquet at Bikaner.

And now, Your Highness, I think that all this company must be sharing my eagerness to see the water at last rushing through these gates we see in front of us, and I must not detain you much longer. As I crossed the Sutlej 15 days ago, nearly 300 miles above this point, on my way from Simla to Kulu, and watched its waters flowing freely and turbulently from the hills of far Tibet, I thought to myself how little they knew of the iron bonds of discipline to which human skill would shortly subject them. I also felt some solace in the thought that some part at any rate of the rain, which makes life at times so monotonous in our summer capital, would henceforth find its way to the waiting plains of Bikaner and be welcomed by people who really appreciate it.

Researches, I believe, have shown that centuries ago a river flowed through Bikaner, and that much of what is now a parched and thirsty waste was once a green land of gardens. Long ago it disappeared, and with it went the population of this country in a great emigration to the Indus Valley. It is a strange and happy reversal of fortune that that lost river of the desert is now being restored to its ancient site, and that once again man will be able to live in comfort and plenty on its plains.

Your Highness, in now declaring the Gang Canal open, I offer you our most heartfelt congratulations on the consummation of this great achievement, and our fervent hopes that it may long endure to bring prosperity to the State of whose fortunes you have been so wise and capable a guide.

BANQUET AT BIKANIR.

25th October
1927.

In replying to the toast given by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir at the Banquet held at Bikanir on the 26th October, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen.—On behalf of Lady Irwin, and on my own

Banquet at Bikaner.

behalf, I wish to thank you most sincerely for the generous response you have made to the toast which His Highness the Maharaja has just proposed in such gracious and kindly terms. His Highness and I have agreed to bind ourselves by a Self-denying Ordinance this evening, that our speeches should be brief, and in consequence I shall not detain you unduly ; but there are one or two points which I should like to mention before this epoch-making day draws to a close.

I think I may confidently assert that we are all at one in our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for his unbounded hospitality, and in our admiration for the magnificent organisation by which he has been able to entertain such a large number of guests, on so lavish a scale at a considerable distance from the capital of Bikaner State ; from my personal knowledge of his character I have no doubt whatever that it is largely if not entirely due to his own active interest and keen supervision that a welcome fully in accordance with the princely traditions of Bikaner has been prepared for us here to-day. His Highness' hospitality is proverbial ; so also are his fidelity and devotion to his old friends ; and I am gratified to learn that among those present to-night there are several old Bikaneris and friends of His Highness who have travelled all the way from Europe especially in order to be here on this occasion. This is indeed striking testimony to those personal qualities of which all who are fortunate enough to come into contact with our distinguished host cannot fail to be conscious. His Highness has expressed a feeling of disappointment that Lady Irwin and I have not had the time to visit the capital of Bikaner on our present tour. I can only say that our disappointment is at least as great as his, and that we retain so many pleasant memories of our welcome there last January that we

Opening of the Islam Headworks at Bahawalpur.

sincerely hope to be able to repeat the experience on some future occasion.

I cannot truthfully say that I was as unfavourably impressed as His Highness appears to have been by the reluctance of a certain section of his feathered subjects to come forward at the time and pay their respects to the Viceroy. I fear indeed that if non-co-operation there was, it is at the Viceroy's door that the principal blame must lie.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now ask you to rise with me and drink the toast of long life, health and prosperity to our friend and host, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

OPENING OF THE ISLAM HEADWORKS AT
BAHAWALPUR.

28th October
1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Islam Headworks at Bahawalpur on the 28th October with the following speech :—

Your Highness, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Just a year ago, when we had the pleasure of enjoying Your Highness' hospitality, I had occasion to express my gratification at seeing something of your State at such an interesting stage in its history, when the extension of the great Sutlej valley project was about to bring so vast a change over the face of Bahawalpur. It is a source of much satisfaction to me to be able to-day to identify myself with an important step towards the completion of that great and beneficent scheme. Lady Irwin and I deeply appreciate the warm and sincere welcome which Your Highness has extended to us both on the present occasion also, and I speak for her as well

Opening of the Islam Headworks at Bahawalpur.

as for myself when I thank Your Highness most cordially for your thoughtful and generous hospitality.

I have during the last few days performed two similar ceremonies higher up on this system and have been therefore able to gain an idea of the immensity of the project. I do not think I need enlarge on the benefits which will accrue to Your Highness' State by the penetration of the waters of the Desert Branch into its waste places, and by the improvements which will be made possible in the existing cultivation by the assured supply from above the Islam weir. To Bahawalpur's lot has fallen a large share of the irrigation from the Sutlej valley project, and I must again congratulate Your Highness on the wise decision to participate in a scheme which is destined to bring widespread prosperity to your subjects and increased importance to your State.

I am glad to learn that sales of colony lands are progressing satisfactorily, and that the average prices realised show an improvement on those obtained last year. Your Highness, I am sure, will recognise the fact that, however good the land may be and however perfect the arrangements for irrigation, success can be achieved only by inspiring confidence in those areas from which you draw your colonists, and that every effort should accordingly be made to maintain such a standard of impartial and efficient administration, as may induce capitalists readily to invest large sums of money in the State. Your Highness' scheme of peasant grants on special concession rates to cultivating zamindars, who will reside in their holdings and till them in person, has my unqualified approval. I understand that up to date no less than sixteen lakhs of rupees have been deposited, and that these civil grantees will be further supplemented by a large number of serving or retired men of the Indian Army. This scheme provides a virile population for the desert areas, which will, as I hope and believe, form the backbone of the new colony.

Opening of the Islam Headworks at Bahawalpur.

I know that owing to a variety of contributory causes the original estimate of the cost of this project has proved to be misleading, and that Your Highness' Government has in consequence been called upon to meet a very considerable increase in expenditure. I recognise, and fully sympathise with Your Highness in, the disappointment this wide variation from the earlier calculations must have caused you, but I feel no doubt that, with such a prize in view, the State will surmount all difficulties in their efforts to win it, and I can assure Your Highness that you can always count on my friendly sympathy and advice in this matter.

I feel confident, Your Highness, that this canal has a great future opening out before it, and that one of your greatest interests will always be to see that it is maintained at a high level of efficiency. We are constantly reminded how wayward and fitful a maid is Nature. Trained and assisted by the intelligence of man she can be induced to yield her gifts in rich profusion. Unguided and uncontrolled she too readily relapses into license or sterility. Your Highness will not be slow to draw the moral of my parable. Without constant care and supervision this canal, like all man-made schemes, can with difficulty withstand the ravages of time and the assaults of fickle Nature. It will be to the lasting honour of Your Highness and Your Highness' officials to make quite certain that the future organisation of your canals is worthy of the great Punjab canal system of which it is a part. It is obvious that without a properly trained engineering and revenue staff the full benefits of irrigation can never be obtained, and I am glad therefore to know that the Punjab Government is co-operating with Your Highness' Government in training your own State staff during the period of three years in which the Punjab Government will maintain the channels before making them over to Your Highness' charge. But this by itself

Opening of the Islam Headworks at Bahawalpur.

will not be enough ; I am told that the State will require altogether a staff of about 50 engineers, apart from the revenue staff, to maintain the canals at their proper level of efficiency. It is therefore satisfactory to know that others have been sent to Colleges for training, and they doubtless will in due course become efficient and valuable officers. At first however they will necessarily lack practical experience, but I feel no doubt that Your Highness' Government appreciate the importance of this aspect of the case and will not fail to take adequate measures to deal with it.

It is fitting here to mention the names of three gentlemen to whom a meed of praise is due for their unremitting exertions in the furtherance of the work which I am to-day inaugurating. The first is the Agent to the Governor-General for the Punjab States, Lieutenant-Colonel St. John, to whose foresight and experience Bahawalpur is so deeply indebted. The second is Mr. Barron, whose expert knowledge of the inception and administration of colonies in the Punjab has been of incalculable advantage to the State ; and the third is Mr. Fitzpatrick, whose knowledge and experience will, I am glad to think, still be at the service of the Durbar in his new position.

It is time now, Your Highness, that I should formally declare these headworks open. I speak for all the company present here to-day when I say that we most earnestly trust that they may fulfil the high hopes we build upon them. I know that Sir Malcolm Hailey is with me in assuring to Your Highness all the assistance that the Government of India and the Punjab Government can lend you in furthering the prosperity of this great scheme, and one and all we wish long life and a smooth course to this canal, which is destined to ensure lasting benefit to Your Highness' administration and to your people.

ADDRESS FROM THE KARACHI MUNICIPALITY.

12th November 1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied to the Address of Welcome from the Karachi Municipality in the following terms :—

Gentlemen.—Let me first, on my own behalf and on behalf of Lady Irwin, thank you cordially for your friendly welcome and good wishes. It has indeed been a great pleasure to us to visit this busy centre of commercial life and to see something for ourselves of the great maritime port of which we have always heard so much.

It is an added interest that I should be visiting Karachi at a time when, as you say, the Province of Sind, on whose prosperity your fortunes are so largely based, is in such an interesting stage in its agricultural development. During the last week or two I have had the opportunity of seeing a good deal of the great Indus Valley and Sutlej Valley Projects and of gauging the importance of these two schemes, and it is therefore very interesting to stand, as it were, at the mouth of those great granaries and see something of the organisation of the city which connects them with the outside world. With you I hope and believe that the Royal Commission on Agriculture will be the means of bringing great prosperity to agriculturists not only in Sind but in all parts of India, for, on the progress of the agricultural community, the progress of India most surely depends.

I am glad that you have brought to my notice certain difficulties which you feel in the administration of your Municipality. One of these is the question of octroi and terminal taxation by local bodies. This matter is now engaging the attention of my Government, and it is not possible for me to anticipate the final decision that will be arrived at. But I can assure you that no decision will be taken without a careful consideration of all interests involved. The Government of India are primarily concerned with seeing that such taxes do not encroach upon the sphere of Imperial taxation, and that

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

they do not restrict or hamper through trade, on which the prosperity of a growing port like yours must greatly depend. Subject to these safeguards, and to the removal of the defects to which you refer—defects which may lead to unnecessary hardship or unfair incidence of the burden of taxation on the consumer,—it is not the intention of my Government to take any action which may deprive municipalities, which at present derive a considerable income from these sources, of any substantial part of that income.

In the second place you have represented that the Statutes controlling the work of Public Utility Companies should be amended. This seems to be a matter on which you might properly approach the Government of Bombay with a reasoned statement of your case. At the same time, you no doubt appreciate that, unless fairly favourable terms are granted to such companies, they would not be induced to risk their capital, nor would the public come forward to invest their money in such undertakings if the Statutes are to be amended as soon as the undertakings begin to pay.

You have also raised the question of amending the Indian Trust Act so as to include the bonds issued by your Municipality in the list of bonds in which Trustees of private trusts are authorised to invest money. This matter will receive the careful consideration of my Government when it comes before them officially, but I must point out that it raises a wide issue on which the Local Governments will have to be consulted.

I fully realise and appreciate your pride in the splendid Indus civilisation which the labours of the Archæological Department of the Government of India have brought to light. It is perhaps only natural that you should desire to possess at Karachi as large a share as possible of the relics of this civilisation which is now known to have extended over the Punjab and

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

Baluchistan as well as over Sind, and to have been closely connected with other great civilisations of Asia. But I am sure you will agree with me when I say that in the disposal of such important relics the requirements of science, no less than the demands of popular sentiment, are a factor that must be taken into account. Thus, in the interests of the excavations themselves, which I am told are likely to go on at Mohen-jo-Daro for many decades yet, it is indispensable that a certain proportion of these antiquities should be preserved for the time being at the site where they were found. And it is equally desirable, and I do not think you will disagree with me in this either, that some of them at least should be placed in the National Museum at Delhi, where it is proposed to bring together many representative collections of such pre-historic antiquities, and where they can be compared and studied to the best advantage. The Government of India, however, are just as anxious to foster the growth of local as of Central Museums, which they regard not as rivals, but as the natural complements of such pre-historic antiquities, and, where they can be subject to the reservations I have made, we shall endeavour to meet in the most liberal spirit the wishes of the Bombay Government. In expressing those wishes I am sure they will attach due weight to your claims as well as those of the Prince of Wales' Museum at Bombay.

I note what you say in your address concerning the Statutory Commission, whose duty it will be to make a report to the British Parliament concerning the various matters connected with the working of the Reforms.

You will have seen the announcement, which it was my duty to make a few days ago, of the decisions of His Majesty's Government on this subject. I recognise that the constitution of the Commission which is to conduct the initial enquiry on behalf of Parliament does not fulfil the hope which you record in your address. But it is at

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

the same time my belief that the subsequent procedure proposed by His Majesty's Government, through which representatives of the Central Indian Legislature will be invited to confer with the Joint Committee of Parliament on whatever proposals His Majesty's Government may then put forward, provides an even more effective means of contact and joint deliberation on these great issues between the constitutional representatives of Great Britain and of India.

I know, gentlemen, what a deep and practical interest you take in the great city whose affairs are entrusted to your hands, and I must congratulate you on the efforts you have made, under a succession of capable Presidents, to improve the health and amenities of this Municipality. I know how much of the credit for this progress is due to the energy and interest displayed by your present President, Mr. Jamshed Mehta. The phenomenal growth of population in the last ten years has made it difficult for you to keep pace with its increasing needs, and I am glad to know that you are earnestly studying the question of housing, especially of the poorer classes of the people. I regard this as perhaps the most pressing problem of your city, and I am told that its solution lies in co-operation between the local authorities and landlords. I trust and believe that all the parties concerned will in a spirit of common endeavour combine to carry through these most necessary and beneficial schemes. They can, I know, always count on the good-will of your Commissioner, Mr. Hudson, at whose hands any proposals making for the greater good of Sind or any part of it can always be sure of ready sympathy and support. I need hardly, I think, admonish a body of businessmen on the danger of embarrassing the financial position of their city, and I hope that all the schemes you have now in mind may be found to be within the bounds of your resources.

Address from the Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi.

I thank you once more, gentlemen, for welcoming us so warmly. I am always glad to meet bodies such as yours and to have the opportunity of thanking them for the work they gratuitously perform for the benefit of their fellow-townsmen. I wish you all success in your labours and all prosperity to the city in your charge.

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION AND THE BUYERS' AND SHIPPERS' CHAMBER, KARACHI.

12th November 1927.

In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen.—I thank you cordially for the welcome which you have given to Lady Irwin and myself. It is a great pleasure to me to meet the members of two bodies which between them represent the Indian trade and commerce of such an important town as Karachi.

The growth of Karachi is, as you have said, the natural outcome of her favourable geographical position and she has now added to her importance by becoming an aerial port. When Lord Chelmsford visited your city in 1917, Drigh Road was only a wayside station with a small village adjoining it. It has now developed into a large Air Force Dépôt and Aerodrome, and there seems to be little question that Karachi is destined to become the Gateway of the Air road from Europe to India. It is not impossible that the next few years will see the inauguration of regular commercial air services between Europe and India and the Far East, and of internal services in India, resulting in the speeding up of communications and the further development of trade. Karachi, in view of her geographical position at the centre of some of the probable main world routes, is bound to play an important part in these developments.

Address from the Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi.

I am glad that your address sounds a note of optimism regarding the future of your trade, though the figures you have quoted show a certain falling off from the high figures of a few years ago. I trust that you have not suffered too heavily from the floods of the recent rainy season, which left such havoc in their wake. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my unstinted admiration of the way in which people and officials of Sind have risen to the occasion in dealing with the situation.

One passage in your address suggested that in the past the Government of India have scarcely shown Karachi the sympathy and support which her undoubted achievements deserve, and that they unduly minimise the urgency of certain needs which you feel to-day. You will, I have no doubt, desire that I should explain the attitude of the Government of India upon these matters. You will not be unaware of the large sums which the Government have in the past spent in providing the rail connection between Karachi and the Punjab, without which none of the developments in the Port and town would have been possible. Nor have the Government of India, I think, ever spared either skill or money in improving the capacity of the main line of railway. The evidence of this continued attention to the needs of Karachi may be found in the fact that for some years past there has been no restriction on the free flow of traffic to and from the Port to the full extent of all demands. Not only is the capacity of the main line of railway well in advance of the demands likely to be made of it in the near future, but I understand that there has recently been a great improvement in the speed and the safety with which traffic to and from the Port has been transported.

You have mentioned various new Railway works which you consider to be of urgent importance to Karachi.

Address from the Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi.

The history of two of these—the connections between Karachi and Bombay and Karachi and Cawnpore—is that of many other projects in India ; they were investigated before the War and then deferred when War broke out. Later they have had to give way to projects whose financial success was more assured. As you know, the Railway Board decided a year or two ago that the project for the connection of Karachi with Bombay should be re-examined, and the results of the investigation made last cold weather are still under scrutiny. Though the Board are not yet satisfied that the expected traffic will give an adequate return on the large capital required, they have tentatively entered the project in their programme for 1929-30.

The second Railway work mentioned in your address—the Karachi-Cawnpore broad gauge connection—appears to have less in favour of it. It has been very carefully investigated, and the magnitude of the estimates for construction make it doubtful whether adequate advantage will be gained by substituting a broad gauge for the metre gauge which exists already. The project is however one which is brought up for review from time to time in accordance with the Railway Board's policy of periodically re-examining all such proposals, and you may be certain that it will not be lost sight of.

You have, in the third place, referred to the feeder lines in Sind. These would be undoubtedly of great benefit to Karachi, and I understand that negotiations with the Bombay Government on the subject of a guarantee are approaching a satisfactory conclusion. The North-Western Railway will commence work as soon as the matter is decided.

The question of the representation of your bodies on the Central and Provincial Legislatures, to which you

Address from the Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi.

have referred, is of course of very immediate interest to you, and I can assure you that I fully realise the importance of giving due weight to the opinions of the great mercantile community in this and other parts of India. I do not think I can say more than this at the present time when the Statutory Commission is within measurable time of beginning its enquiry.

You have invited my attention to a Resolution in the Council of State in January 1922 recommending that steps should be taken to increase the number of Indians in the higher grades in the service of the Port Trusts, and you express disappointment at the slow progress that has since been made. As you are aware, the Board of Trustees has statutory power to appoint its own officers. And, in the debate in the Council of State to which you refer, it was recognised that the most practical step that the Government could take towards the Indianisation of the Port Trust services would be to increase the number of Indians on the Board of Trustees. The Karachi Port Trust Act was accordingly amended in 1924, so as to increase the number of Indian Members of the Board from two to five. I have no doubt that the Board as now constituted is exercising its powers of appointment with due regard to the claims of qualified Indians.

I am in sympathy with the natural desire of Indians to take a greater part in the sea transport system of their own country. Our first task is to provide for the training of Indian Officers, and, for this purpose, the *Dufferin* has been converted into a training ship, located at Bombay, as recommended by the Mercantile Marine Committee. An influential Governing Body, containing a majority of Indians, has been appointed, and the training ship will shortly be opened for its first term.

The question whether Karachi can be made the port of call of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation

Address from the All-Sind Hindu Association at Karachi.

steamers has been very carefully considered many times in the past, but it has always been felt that only a very small portion of the mails from Europe brought by these steamers would be benefited by the proposed change, while the bulk of the mails would be seriously delayed. When however the Cairo-Karachi Air Mail Service is established, it is clear that Karachi will occupy a unique position in respect of the Air Mail Service to and from Europe.

You have mentioned your desire that Indians should be appointed both to the Railway Board and to the Central Board of Revenue. I can assure you that, when vacancies occur in these bodies, the question whether an Indian can be appointed is always considered, and I give my personal attention to it. I should be glad to see Indians occupying seats on both these Boards, but I must remind you that in both cases it is essential that the member should possess special knowledge and experience if he is to discharge his duties adequately, and that the primary consideration in filling these appointments must be the interests of the public service.

I will conclude, gentlemen, by again thanking the representatives of the great commercial interests in Karachi for giving me this opportunity of meeting them, and by wishing you prosperity and success in all your business.

ADDRESS FROM THE ALL-SIND HINDU ASSOCIATION
AT KARACHI.

12th Nov-
ember 1927.

The following is the reply delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Address of Welcome presented to him by the All-Sind Hindu Association at Karachi :—

Gentlemen.—Sind has indeed given us a welcome worthy of its reputation, and Lady Irwin and I are very grateful to the members of your Association for the part

Address from the All-Sind Hindu Association at Karachi.

they have played in it, and for the cordial address to which we have just had the pleasure of listening.

The importance of your Province and the interesting stage of development in which it now finds itself are well known to me, and it would have been a cause of great regret to me if I had not been able to visit Sind and Karachi thus early in my term of office. I had, as you know, the opportunity of seeing your great Sukkur Barrage a few days ago and of obtaining some insight into the magnitude of this project, and I fully realise your anxiety that all possible measures should be taken to ensure the success of the scheme and to enable the cultivators of Sind to take full advantage of it as soon as water is available. I am glad therefore to be assured by the Government of Bombay that progress in the work is well maintained, and I feel sure that nothing which human ingenuity can do will be left wanting in the execution of this great enterprise. Special attention, I am told, has been paid to the matter of drainage, and the complete system of drains is expected to be ready by the time the new canals are ready to receive water. For the improvement of roads the Local Government are already allotting four lakhs of rupees annually to the District Local Boards, and the formation of a special Communications Board should ensure a full examination of this important question in all its aspects. I am pleased too to hear that a large agricultural station has been started at Sakrand for experiments, and that six scholarships for the Agricultural College at Poona have been awarded in Sind since 1925.

I have listened closely to the views you have expressed on a somewhat controversial topic, the question of increased representation on the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The whole question of representation is of such intricacy that it cannot be examined piecemeal, and in view of the approaching enquiry by the Statutory

Address from the All-Sind Hindu Association at Karachi.

Commission I do not think I can go further than to give you the assurance that when the general question comes under examination, the views, which I have no doubt Your Association will submit to the Commission, will receive the careful consideration they deserve.

The further question you raise of the reservation of posts in the public services is also by no means free from difficulty. In view of the predominance of the Muhammadan population in Sind the Government of Bombay have recognised the necessity of endeavouring to secure proper representation of that community in the public services, not in Sind alone but throughout the Presidency. On an analysis of the position a few years ago it was decided that, in order to adjust the proportion of the number of higher appointments held by members of each community, it was necessary to reserve a certain number of direct appointments in the higher grades for qualified Muhammadans. I lay emphasis on the word qualified, for as I have repeatedly said, this is essential in the interest of the efficient discharge of the public service. This course was, I believe, designed to meet a special difficulty, and I am told that the disparity has now to a large extent disappeared, and that this year Hindus had their full share in promotion to the rank of Deputy Collector. I am assured by the Government of Bombay that their general policy is, so far as is practicable, the same as that of the Government of India, namely, that steps should be taken by adjustments of recruitment to ensure that the various communities are not deprived of a reasonable opportunity to enter Government service, but that thereafter promotion should depend upon merit alone.

I listened with attention and interest to that part of your address which dealt with the position of the Hindu agriculturist in Sind, for I am well aware of the value of a stable and contented peasantry. If I appreciate

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association, Karachi.

correctly the facts of the matter, it is not correct to say that there is any differentiation in the treatment of communities as such, except that land in Sind is ordinarily given to Muhammadans on restricted tenure, without any right of transfer, and is therefore naturally allotted to them on easier terms than land granted on full survey tenure which carries with it the right of transfer. I feel no doubt that in any legislation which may be brought forward to deal with agricultural rights the Local Government will be guided solely by considerations of the true interest of the great mass of agriculturists on whom the prosperity of this Province is fundamentally based. I can assure you that any representation on behalf of the farmer in any part of India will always receive my very careful and sympathetic consideration.

In taking leave of you, gentlemen, I would appeal to you so to uphold the rights of those whom your Association represents, that you do not forget the rights and aspirations of others ; to remember that you are Indians first and Hindus afterwards ; to seek the solution of differences on the common ground of good-will to all men, and to believe that in so doing you are acting in the true interests and to the lasting honour of the great religious community whose name you have the honour to bear.

ADDRESS FROM THE SIND MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION, KARACHI.

The Sind Muhammadan Association presented an Address of Welcome to His Excellency the Viceroy at Karachi, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

12th November 1927.

Gentlemen.—Lady Irwin and I wish to thank you most sincerely for the kind and generous welcome that you have extended to both of us to-day. It has given me great pleasure to be able to visit Sind early in my

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association, Karachi.

time as Viceroy, and to obtain a close view of the several problems which affect the administration of your Province and to which you have alluded in your address.

I am glad to observe, Mr. Chairman, that you have made mention of no serious complaint in the speech which you have just delivered, and indeed this laudable spirit of contentment is in keeping with the well-known and steadfast loyalty towards Government that has always been a characteristic of the Sindhi Musulman. You have, however, referred to a subject which has, I fear, an inevitable and deeply to be regretted prominence at the present moment, the subject of communal strife. It is a source of considerable satisfaction to me to be able to congratulate you, gentlemen, on the comparative immunity of this Province from the worst manifestations of communal jealousy and bitterness, but at the same time I would hasten to remind you that this desirable state of affairs can only be maintained by the leaders of the two communities continually using their influence on the side of peace and by their active discouragement of fanatical speeches and of violent writings. By the recent introduction of the Bill dealing with insults to religion the Government of India has done what was possible by means of legislation to penalise deliberate and malicious attacks on that which each community holds sacred ; but I fully recognise that this action, necessary as it certainly has been, deals only with the symptoms and cannot of itself produce that change of heart which will be the one lasting solution of India's present discords and difficulties.

You have referred, gentlemen, to your feelings of apprehension that your community may not in the future be given a sufficiently wide opportunity of serving your Motherland in the various spheres of usefulness which constitute a public career. I must first of all congratulate you upon the rapid strides made by Musulmans as a whole, and particularly by the Musulmans of this

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association, Karachi.

Province, in all stages of education during the last twenty years ; and I would advise you to rely to an increasing degree on your own merits to obtain adequate representation in the public services, rather than on communal considerations. My Government clearly recognises that, while due regard must be had to the qualifications of candidates, it is necessary as far as possible to see that the various communities are not deprived of a fair opportunity of sharing in the great services which it controls, and we continually have this policy in our minds. But we trust that, as time goes on, the Muhammadan Community will find itself increasingly able to face and overcome outside competition without any special assistance whatsoever.

I know full well, gentlemen, that a large majority of the members of your Association are practical agriculturists, and I wish to offer you my sympathy in the grave losses which some of you have undoubtedly sustained by the recent severe floods in Hyderabad and Thar Parkar ; I am also distressed to learn that the present season has proved an unfavourable one for most of you owing to the late rise and early fall of the river. I hope and believe, however, that the great Sukkur Barrage will soon be protecting you from these unpleasant vicissitudes ; and I would here urge you, in your own interests, to help to shoulder the burden of the initial cost of this vast enterprise by buying some of the land which is ultimately to be benefited by its operation.

The question of feeder and direct railway connections for this Province has already been dealt with by me in my reply to the address of the Indian Merchants' Association to-day, and I would request you to take my remarks on that occasion as an answer to your representation on the subject.

I have listened with great interest to the views expressed by you on several of the major questions of the

Karachi Chamber of Commerce Luncheon.

day which affect the Muhammadan Community in India, and I can assure you that, when these matters come to be considered, the opinion of your Association will not be overlooked. As you are aware, the Statutory Commission will before long start its enquiry, and you will agree with me that it would not be proper for me, in the discussion of these problems, to anticipate in any way the report of the Commission.

In conclusion I would again emphasise the absolute necessity of harmony between the two great communities in this country and of an understanding of, and sympathy with, the peculiar difficulties with which each is confronted. In many quarters there is, I believe, a growing anxiety to find for India a solution of her sorest and most obstinate problem. Critics will not be wanting of any proposals that can be put forward, but I trust that those who feel constrained to criticise will constantly seek to do so in a spirit of constructive desire to help. It is always difficult to build ; it is often easy to find fault with another's building. And, at this time, no one who cares for India's welfare, and who appreciates the damage caused to her body politic by their antagonisms, will fail to wish well to any efforts that may directly or indirectly assist in promoting the cause of peace. I appeal to you, gentlemen, as the representatives of the community which has so large a numerical preponderance in this Province, to set a good example for the conduct of majorities, and to show a spirit of tolerance and forbearance towards those who may be less favourably placed than yourselves ; that spirit without which real unity is unattainable, and without which India can never claim her true place in the great sisterhood of nations.

KARACHI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON.

12th Nov- The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on
ember 1927 the occasion of the Luncheon given by the Karachi Chamber

Karachi Chamber of Commerce Luncheon.

of Commerce :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I should like to begin, Mr. Chairman, by thanking you and all the members of your Chamber for the very friendly welcome you have extended to Lady Irwin and myself to-day. I owe you an apology for having had to alter my original dates and upset all your arrangements, and I am sure you realise that I would not have done so if I had felt it possible to avoid it. It has greatly added to the interest of my visit to Karachi to have been able to perform the opening ceremony of your new building. I wish it, Mr. Chairman, a long and successful life, and I congratulate the Chamber on the erection of a really worthy building. While I am sure the tribute you have paid to others in this connexion is well-deserved, I know how much the Chamber is indebted for its completion to the foresight and driving power which you yourself, Mr. Chairman, have shown during your long term of office. It is, I suspect, not too much to say that but for your energy and resource the new building would still exist only on paper and not in the substantial sandstone we see to-day. This must be a great day for you and I know that all the company present here will join me in offering you our hearty congratulations.

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, that you or anyone should feel that, in the eyes of Government, Karachi is in the position of a neglected younger child, and that the favourite elder brother gets all the good things that are going. Before I leave you, I trust I may be able to dispel the idea that the Government could be such a callous and unnatural parent. I can at any rate promise you that any question which affects Karachi will always receive my very careful and sympathetic attention, and I am glad that henceforth I shall have that personal acquaintance with your problems and circumstances which means so much when any matter comes up for decision.

Karachi Chamber of Commerce Luncheon.

I should like to say something on one or two of the points you have raised. I may be repeating to a certain extent what I have already said to other bodies in Karachi, for I seem to have occupied no inconsiderable part of my time to-day in public speaking. Indeed my oratory seems in danger of acquiring some of the characteristics of the perennial flow of irrigation of which I have been seeing and hearing so much on the Sutlej and at Sukkur. Both those great schemes are surely destined to have a great effect on the future of Karachi, and it has been a stimulating experience to get an insight into the mechanism of these projects, to meet the men in person who are bringing them into completion, and to see the workman-like confidence they have in their task. I know too that they have warm and sympathetic supporters in His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson and in Mr. Hudson, your Commissioner, on whose help and advice you may always rely in any scheme devoted to the development of the Province of Sind. As you have said, it is an essential part of the scheme that communications in the area now coming under irrigation should be adequate, and it is satisfactory to know that the negotiations which have been proceeding with the Bombay Government regarding the guarantee for the Sind feeder lines seem likely to be successful, and that construction will begin as soon as a decision has been reached. The other line which you have referred to is the much discussed Karachi-Cawnpore broad gauge connection. You are no doubt aware of the difficulties which have confronted the scheme. Various alignments have been proposed and have been investigated from time to time. They involve the conversion of many miles of metre gauge railway, some of them the property of Indian States, the construction of a considerable length of broad gauge railway, and in some cases a complete alteration in the present working of traffic on established metre gauge and broad gauge lines.

Karachi Chamber of Commerce Luncheon.

Although such a line would be considerably shorter than the present broad gauge connection, it would save little in mileage as compared with the present metre gauge connection which gives access to Agra, Cawnpore and other places in the productive area already trading with Karachi. The various estimates that have been considered for the project vary from 9 to 12 crores of rupees according to the alignment adopted, and it is obvious that a proposal of this magnitude requires very careful consideration. It is recognised, however, that this line should undoubtedly give Karachi certain facilities which it does not at present enjoy, and, though its construction will always have to be considered in relation to that of more urgent projects in other parts of India, the scheme is to be brought up for review from time to time for re-examination in the light of changing circumstances, and there is, therefore, no fear that the Government of India will lose sight of this proposal.

You have also asked me about the question of the establishment of a Chief Court in Sind. This matter has, I know, been very carefully considered by the Bombay Government, who fully appreciate the necessity of the Court. But for the present I am advised that the financial difficulty cannot be overcome and that the Government of Bombay do not hope to be in a position to introduce the Court during next financial year.

As to your representation regarding Karachi's claim to a branch of the Reserve Bank, I fear I cannot say more to-day than that, as you are aware, nothing has yet been definitely settled, and that it will be very carefully considered when the question arises in practical shape.

I am going to be rash enough to offer you a few observations about the future administration of your great Port. I am making them advisedly before my visit to

Karachi Chamber of Commerce Luncheon.

the port and my inspection of the new harbour works so that you should not think they are simply the unfledged impressions of the casual visitor. In the course of discussions at various times about Karachi affairs, I have heard the question asked whether the port authorities had sufficiently considered the need for taking a long view in providing the necessary facilities for handling traffic. I do not doubt that the existing arrangements are sound and economical for the traffic which the port has hitherto had to handle. But, if the port develops as we hope and expect, other methods may be necessary to deal with the increasing volume of trade. The approaching completion of one stage in the construction of the West Wharf and the re-organisation of the work of the port that this implies seem to give an opportunity for reviewing the future of the port as a whole, and in particular for considering methods of handling traffic which can readily be expanded to meet future requirements.

I think there is much to be learned from the experience of ports in other parts of the world, and I am told that great advances have been made in recent years in the use of mechanical devices, in the orderly arrangement of the movement of traffic within the port, and in improved methods of sorting and storing goods while in the port area.

Nobody would suggest that Karachi can afford to neglect the lessons learned in other great ports. On the knowledge and judgment of the Port Trustees depends the prosperity not only of Karachi, but also of a vast hinterland, and I feel no doubt that they can be trusted to take that wide outlook, uninfluenced by local considerations and interests, on which a right decision must be based.

I would ask you to believe, Mr. Chairman, that in everything that I have said I am prompted solely by my

Banquet at Cutch.

sincere desire to see Karachi a flourishing and up-to-date Port. You will perhaps think that I have taken rather an unfair advantage of your hospitality to be somewhat didactic. If I have, I owe you an apology, for it has given Lady Irwin and myself a very real pleasure to-day to accept your hospitality and to meet so many of your members. We both thank you sincerely. I shall, as I have said, henceforth feel able to follow the fortunes of Karachi and its traders with something more than official interest. Of all our pleasant recollections of Karachi one of our pleasantest will be the kind welcome we have received from all the members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

BANQUET AT CUTCH.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech 15th November 1927.
at the Banquet at Cutch :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I thank Your Highness for the kind and friendly terms in which you have welcomed Lady Irwin and myself this evening. We appreciate them very much and are delighted to have this opportunity of accepting your invitation and visiting Your Highness in the capital of your State.

I have always looked forward to seeing Your Highness' State of Cutch. It lies, as you truly say, somewhat apart from the usual track of tourists—and Viceroy's—and, as Your Highness has recalled, only Lord Curzon among my predecessors has been privileged to land at Mandvi and to arrive, shaken perhaps but indomitable, at your capital of Bhuj. I would assure Your Highness in this connection that the 27 years that have passed have clearly been good for the health of the road—for yesterday it gave a smooth and comfortable passage to our motor cars.

Banquet at Cutch.

To tread where only that great Viceroy had adventured was in itself an attraction ; and apart from this the size and importance of Your Highness' State are such as to justify, and even demand, a closer attention and acquaintance on the part of the Head of the Government of India. Your historical record and associations were also a lure to me. I had heard that Cutch was great and prosperous in the earliest days of the East India Company—a State of flourishing and busy seaports with traders known for daring and enterprise along all the Sea boards of the Indian Ocean ; while the Cutch artificers in gold, silver and enamel were famous throughout the length and breadth of India.

I am sorry to learn that to some extent these happy conditions appear to have suffered an eclipse ; that your harbours are silting up, that portions of your lands are going out of cultivation, that the trade of your silver workers is languishing, and that many of your most successful and prosperous merchants have sought habitations elsewhere. Doubtless the long and lamentable record of famine and scarcity years of which Your Highness has told us, is largely responsible for these changes ; and I am glad to hear that an expert Engineer is exploring the possibilities of irrigation as a safeguard against the vicissitudes of the monsoons. The growing paralysis of Mandvi both as a Port and Town is, I am informed, due to the abnormal incursion of fine drifting sand which has begun to work up from the Ocean bed within the last 30 years. Palliative measures seem difficult, and I am not surprised to learn that Your Highness is considering the development of other ports in your State where the opposing forces of nature are not so strong and insidious. I appreciate the kindness which has pushed on one of these enterprises to facilitate our journey to-morrow.

Where nature seems unkind and monsoons are fickle, it becomes all the more important to examine and remedy

Banquet at Cutch.

other causes which may contribute to the decline in a country's prosperity. I have heard, and Your Highness has also, that the high rate of the Kori exchange is accused of some of the temporary depression of Cutch, of the stagnation of its ancient industry and the departure of many of its more enterprising citizens. It is a commonplace of economics, illustrated to a remarkable degree in the post-war history of Europe, that a high rate of exchange tends to deprive local industries of their outside markets. Questions of currency are always difficult to laymen and require the earliest and best advice available. Nothing is more certain than that a mistaken policy in such a matter has an immediate and disastrous effect on the trade of any country far more potent than other errors of omission or commission in the functions of Government. I am sure that Your Highness realises the danger of delay and am glad to be told that you contemplate early steps to investigate a question so vital to the interests of your State and subjects.

Your Highness is a Statesman who has sat in the Councils of assembled nations and does not need to be reminded that reports of experts and committees are of value, as they lead to prompt decisions and early action. The art of government becomes more complex as the world advances. What satisfied a previous generation may be insufficient for the present and will be less so for the next. For those of us who have to share the burden of direction and control close personal attention and the assistance of adequate and competent officials are more and more demanded in the interests of those committed to our charge. The combination of too many functions in the hand of one or two officials is to be deprecated and in modern well-governed States the higher judiciary is invariably separated from the executive. Your Highness and Cutch are perhaps happy in lying apart from the main current—but all the stream is moving forward.

Banquet at Cutch.

I would congratulate Your Highness on the absence of all communal dissension within your borders. The extension of this trouble in British India is a most serious menace to political progress in this country. I have appealed to all patriotic Indians to co-operate in eradicating the evil, and, although the progress made may seem disappointing, I hope and believe that good sense and moderation may at length prevail. I know that I can rely upon Your Highness and all the Indian Princes to assist with your influence and advice when opportunity offers.

Your Highness' attachment to the British Throne and Empire is well known and every word with which you have proposed the health of Their Majesties is instinct with the deepest loyalty and sincerity. In all times of difficulty and danger I am aware that the Empire can count on devoted support from Your Highness and your people.

I thank Your Highness once again for your warm welcome and all the arrangements for our entertainment and comfort. Cutch needs no apology for the absence of famous "show places". It has a charm all its own with its red-roofed white-housed villages set in wide plains with the background of palms and the sea, and the rugged hills that encircle your ancient Capital. We are glad to have seen it all, and we trust that the friendship now formed with Your Highness will be cemented many times in Delhi and Simla. It will be a great pleasure to meet again there and hear more from Your Highness of the success of your further efforts for the good of your administration and people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join with me in drinking good health and all prosperity to our distinguished host His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

OPENING OF THE KUNDLA RAILWAY.

In declaring the Varsamedi-Kundla Extension of the 16th Nov-
Bhuj-Anjar Railway open, His Excellency the Viceroy said :— ember 1927.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I am very glad to accept Your Highness' invitation to perform the ceremony of opening the Varsamedi-Kundla extension of the Bhuj-Anjar railway to-day. My pleasure is the greater since I understand that, if this railway had not been opened, I should have been required to leave Bhuj to-day at earliest dawn in order to reach Jamnagar before nightfall. Kundla where now, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Hemchand Mehta and Mr. Barry, we are to embark in happier circumstances, will be the first Port in Cutch at which steamers can arrive at all tides. The ceremony to-day therefore marks a new era of comfort for travellers to and from this interesting State.

I congratulate Your Highness on this new development. The provision of adequate communications is rightly held to be a proper function of all good Governments, and few are more important in bringing economic prosperity and progress to any country. The facts and figures given by Your Highness are illuminating, and the silting up of your chief Port of Mandvi has evidently made the opening of this Kundla Port imperative. For a State that is accessible from the Sea and at high tide only must be severely handicapped in all its progress.

I have listened with great interest to Your Highness' statement of the reasons underlying your refusal hitherto to be linked up with the railway systems of India. They doubtless had force in the past, but I am glad to understand that Your Highness recognises that conditions have now changed, and that you look forward to connecting the Anjar-Bachau extension with the existing railways to the North and East of Cutch. I share Your Highness' belief that such connection cannot be other than advantageous to the social progress and economic prosperity of your country, and, when the developments, to which

*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the new Hospital at
Jamnagar.*

Your Highness has alluded, have taken place, it will be possible for future Viceroys to reach Your Highness' State by land as well as by Sea—and tides will become matters of less moment than they are at present !

Your Highness will realise that, so far as other parts of India are concerned, existing interests in the matter of revenue, and such safeguards as may be necessary for the preservation of internal security, must not be overlooked. I have no doubt that Your Highness will be ready to co-operate with Government in these important matters.

I have now much pleasure in declaring this railway open.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW
HOSPITAL AT JAMNAGAR.

17th Nov-
ember 1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy performed the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the new Hospital Building at Jamnagar, saying :—

Your Highness, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen.—We all offer you our congratulations, Your Highness, on this occasion which typifies, as you have said, the progressive policy of the Durbar, and which also testifies to the sympathetic care which Your Highness has always shown for all classes of your subjects. I accepted with great pleasure Your Highness' invitation to perform this ceremony, and I must thank you for the compliment you have paid me by naming the hospital after me. When I look back, as I often shall, in years to come, on my visit to Jamnagar, I shall never fail to think of the building that is to bear my name, and of the part it will then be playing in alleviating sickness and suffering in Your Highness' State.

Your Highness has given us a graphic description of the evolution of medical and surgical practice in Jamnagar.

Banquet at Jamnagar.

It shows clearly the many difficulties you must have had to surmount in the way of old-fashioned and deeply-rooted prejudice, though I daresay there are some of us here to-day who might confess to a certain fellow-feeling with the desire of some of Your Highness' villagers to vanish into thin air on the arrival of the Doctor !

But the picture you have drawn sufficiently proves what a long-felt want this hospital will fill, and I trust that its construction will proceed with all the speed for which Your Highness' other building operations have been conspicuous. You are building an expensive and modern hospital, well-equipped, well-found. Given an efficient staff it must succeed. I have sometimes seen cases where the first promise of institutions such as this has failed of fulfilment through the inadequacy of the staff to run them. I feel little anxiety however that Your Highness will permit such a thing to happen, or—if I may transpose a familiar saying—give the tools reason to complain of the workmen. I know what a keen personal interest you take in this institution and that this is enough to assure its success.

It has been a great privilege to me to lay the first stone of this building. May those who receive succour within its walls remember with gratitude the name of Your Highness to whom it owes its rise.

BANQUET AT JAMNAGAR.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Banquet at Jamnagar :—

18th Nov-
ember 1927.

Your Highness, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Lady Irwin and I are grateful for the kind and eloquent terms in which Your Highness has voiced Jamnagar's welcome to us this evening. We are delighted that it has been possible to visit the States of Western India

Banquet at Jamnagar.

thus early in my Viceroyalty and obtain the knowledge and sense of reality that can only come from personal contact and experience.

As Your Highness has recalled, our first acquaintance began in Geneva some years ago when I, in common with the several delegates of the nations of the world, listened with admiration, as we have again to-night, to the speech with which you delighted the Assembly. I had of course, long before that, worshipped from afar a name that used to appear, with almost monotonous regularity, at the head of the Sussex batting averages. Since my arrival in India I have had other opportunities of observing and appreciating the acute intellect, wide and sober statesmanship and social charm that distinguish His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib. It has therefore been with feelings of keen anticipation that I have looked forward to visiting Nawanagar and observing so famous and forceful a personality in his own State and among his own people. My visit has been, alas, a brief one, but even within it I have been able to see something of the energy and enthusiasm for the development of the State and the progress and well-being of the people which mark Your Highness' administration.

We have listened with great interest to the detailed account of these many activities and improvements given by you this evening. I congratulate Your Highness upon them very warmly. In spite of the natural difficulties to which Your Highness has alluded, your agricultural policy appears to me to be wholly admirable, both in your encouragement of wells and other facilities for irrigation, of which I saw something yesterday, and in granting a Tenancy right to your farmers. No measure is more important than this, for without it no agriculturist will trouble to improve his holding. I confess I am surprised to understand that this enlightened policy is the exception rather than the rule in Kathiawar. I trust

Banquet at Jamnagar.

that those who have not yet followed Your Highness' lead in this matter may speedily do so. I was particularly pleased, as you took us out to Camp, to be able to observe the quality of so much of the farming,—the cleanness of the land and the crops upon it. It struck me as being as good as any farming I have seen in India, and I feel certain that this is also largely due to Your Highness' interest and encouragement.

I have been much impressed also by the success of Your Highness' experiments in town improvement and planning which have transformed cramped and insanitary houses and narrow lanes into the fine buildings and the wide thoroughfares through which we drove two days ago. In olden times a Ruler dissatisfied with his surroundings would transport the whole population to a new site and city selected and built by himself. These are less spacious days and the complications of modern civilisation have in some ways accentuated the saying of Adam Smith that "of all baggage man is the most difficult to move". So Your Highness has had to face and has successfully solved the far more difficult problem of adapting an ancient city to the needs of new conditions and ideas. You have your reward in the improved health of your people, to which also your generous policy in extending medical relief must have contributed.

In all branches of your State administration I find the qualities which my previous acquaintance with Your Highness has led me to expect. I am sure that the people of Nawanagar must also recognise and appreciate Your Highness' efforts for their welfare and that your rule is broadbased on their esteem and affection. I am glad to learn that Your Highness has by constituting an Advisory Council given them opportunities of expressing their needs and sentiments. Each Ruler must decide for himself, having regard to local conditions, how and when it is right to associate his people more closely with himself

Banquet at Jamnagar.

in the burdens of government. A strong central authority must always be maintained in the interests of the people themselves ; but when this is secured it can generally be said that the more freely they can express their wishes and aspirations the better. The final justification for all Governments is the happiness and contentment of the governed ; and an identity of understanding between a Ruler and those committed to his charge must be the secret of all successful personal rule. That secret I feel little doubt you have been fortunate enough to discover, for without such contact and mutual understanding the most benevolent Ruler may often be in danger of mistaking the necessities of those he governs.

Your Highness has touched on two questions which are of present and vital interest to the wider world of all India and all the Indian States ; the exacerbation of communal feeling between Hindus and Moslems and the future relations of the States and British India.

You are fortunate in having no communal trouble in Nawanagar and you share this happy position with most of the Indian States. It may be that, as suggested by His Highness of Alwar on a recent occasion, religious animosities are accentuated by struggles for political power and influence. In the States patronage does not depend on numbers and votes, and you may be reaping some advantage from these conditions. Whatever be the causes in British India, the present widespread cancer of communal strife and bitterness is fraught with grave danger to the body-politic. It is axiomatic that compromise, toleration and readiness to abide by the law are essential preliminaries to success in all democratic governments, and it is accordingly the first duty of every patriotic Indian, whether Hindu or Moslem, to strive his utmost to root out this great and growing evil, to counter the preachings of intolerance and fanaticism, and to imbue

Banquet at Jamnagar.

a more reasonable spirit among the masses of his co-religionists.

The problem of the future relations of your States with British India, where the conditions of rule are slowly but surely changing, is not an easy one. You desire, and naturally, both to retain the internal autonomy secured to you by your engagements and treaties, and at the same time to have a voice in the questions which, owing to the growing complexity of modern conditions, must necessarily affect India as a whole. Although at first sight these two positions may appear difficult of reconciliation, I trust that time and full examination in consultation with all parties concerned will lead us to the discovery of the true solution. I believe that I can rely on the wisdom of far-sighted Rulers like Your Highness, who can appreciate the best interests not only of your States but of India as a whole, to use your influence with your brother-Princes towards this end.

I thank Your Highness for the kind things you have said about Lady Irwin. It is true that she is keenly interested in all that tends to the welfare of Indian womanhood, and she rejoices to think that she has the sympathy and support of Your Highness whose liberal and progressive views on the subject are well known.

From us both, as from all Your Highness' guests, the warmest acknowledgments are due for the cordiality of our welcome and the most charming and exhaustive arrangements made for our comfort and entertainment. I appreciate the courtesy which has avoided reference to matters of controversy between the Nawanagar Durbar and my Government. Differences must sometimes occur, but with good-will on both sides they should seldom be incapable of being brought to just and reasonable settlement. The generous instinct which has prompted Your Highness to leave these matters on one side during our visit is one with the sportsmanship which has always

Banquet at Jamnagar.

distinguished you. It made the name of Ranji a household word to generations of cricketers, and it still assures Your Highness an affectionate welcome wherever sportsmen are gathered together. Whether you are catching sea-trout on the West Coast of Ireland or shooting partridges on the West Coast of India, your chief pleasure lies, I know, in offering good sport to your guests, and we shall not soon forget our wonderful shoot at Rozi. It will remain among our happiest Indian memories.

I need not say that it would be a great pleasure to visit Nawanagar again and see more of Your Highness and the accomplishments of your administration. But you know well how many claims there are upon my time. India, with Burma, is a mighty continent and five years are all too short to fulfil one's desires. I thank Your Highness again for the truly delightful time you have given us. My one regret is that my visit should have been the occasion for a mishap to Your Highness' yacht, the *Star of India*, a mishap for which there would have been no occasion but for your generous anxiety to provide us with the most luxurious means of transport. The event shows what I believe astronomy to teach, that even the best regulated stars are liable to meet unexpected bodies in their appointed course, but for the future we shall wish her the more firmly such a dispensation of prosperity as may compensate her and you for this unkind stroke of fortune. But you will perhaps derive a measure of consolation from the fact that the untoward incident has attached you to the company of distinguished Rulers, who through history in the persons of the Egyptian Pharaoh, or King Canute of England and now yourself, have had perforce to recognise the supremacy of stormy seas, relentless tides and shifting sands.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking long life, good health and prosperity to our distinguished and generous host His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar.

BANQUET AT PORBANDAR.

At the Banquet at Porbandar His Excellency the Viceroy 19th Nov.
proposed the health of His Highness the Maharaja Rana Sahib of Porbandar in the following speech :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I thank Your Highness for your cordial welcome to Lady Irwin and myself. It is a far cry to Kashmir and we count it fortunate that our meeting with Your Highness at Srinagar in April last has led directly to our presence here to-day. There can surely be few greater contrasts from that land of mountains, lakes and valleys than is offered by the Porbandar State with its wide plains swept by the breezes from its extensive sea board. I congratulate Your Highness on your City which has a beauty all its own. I have heard it likened to Port Said ; and with its white buildings above the yellow sands, the lines of palms and casurinas along its wide roads and the dazzling blue background of the Sea I can appreciate the resemblance to that link between the West and East.

We ought perhaps to have come to your Maritime State from the ocean side ; but it seemed more convenient and possibly more prudent to take advantage of the railway system which traverses Kathiawar in every direction. The Sea wears to-day her most friendly aspect, but I can well imagine that, when the monsoon is active, the wind can drive the mighty rollers in thundering approach far up your beaches.

I have listened with interest to your account of your ancient House and the valour and tenacity with which it has maintained its sway. It is a great tradition, Maharaja Sahib, and must be an inspiration to you in bearing the burden of rule received from your forefathers. From what you tell me of your State I gather that it is so, and that your aim is to justify the famous past by a policy of progress and improvement in the present. That is the right way to use tradition ; for to rest on past

Banquet at Porbandar.

laurels is to run the risk of becoming merely the shadow of a mighty name.

The record of your activities given us this evening would show that Porbandar is in no such danger at present, and it is clear that Your Highness realises that the best way to command success is to deserve it. You tell us of movement and progress in all directions, commercial, industrial and agricultural, and I have myself seen something of your Port development in the interests of your traders. With an open roadstead unapproachable in the monsoon you are faced with considerable difficulties, but energy and perseverance can conquer many of them ; and I have every hope that the Port of Porbandar, under Your Highness' auspices, will have its due share of the growing trade of India.

This is perhaps hardly the time or the place to touch on railway questions which, so my experts on the Railway Board assure me, are in Kathiawar thorny and difficult beyond belief. I am told that solution might be easier, the comfort of ordinary passengers be enhanced, and that difficulties would largely disappear if they were treated more as business propositions and not so much as matters of States' prestige and rivalry. They are perhaps the only class of cases in which the compromise and co-operation on which Lord Reading laid so much stress in 1924 have not yet been fully realised.

I am glad to learn that three years' experience of direct relations with the Government of India has satisfied you with the success of the new arrangements. It comes with especial force from Your Highness who has given so generous a measure of acknowledgment to the Bombay Government and the Bombay Governors for the progress and well-being of your State in the past. Changing times however bring changing needs, and I am convinced that the general policy of bringing the Indian States into closer relations with the Viceroy and the Government of

Banquet at Porbandar.

India is in present conditions right. I would not willingly give up the wider and more intimate knowledge of the States which it has brought to me as Viceroy. I take the keenest and most friendly interest in your historic past, in your present problems and in your future developments.

I must thank Your Highness for recognising this so warmly in your kind words this evening. As you have pointed out, ancestral associations should have made me a friend of the Indian Princes, and I confess that in my case the memory of my grandfather is reinforced by a natural bias in favour of ancient and honourable institutions. No man can to-day foretell with certainty in what precise fashion, as time goes on, British India and the States are likely to be enabled best to take their appropriate part in working together for the good of this great country. That such closer collaboration will be the result of powerful forces, which know no territorial or political boundaries; I can hardly doubt. And I feel no less sure that in this regard the States have both a great opportunity and a great responsibility which must impel Rulers to be true to themselves and those ideals of good government of which they must all be aware. Good communications, cheap and expeditious justice, public health, education—all that can be included in unselfish devotion to their people's interests—if these are present no State can be in danger. For the greatest security to any Ruler lies in the love and contentment of his people. I am glad to know, Maharaja Sahib, that you appreciate and strive to realise these ideals in Porbandar. The knowledge that it is so has added much to the pleasure of our brief visit to your State.

Last but not least I must thank you for your kind reference to Lady Irwin who shares all my interests in this most interesting land. In especial she welcomes all movements tending to the greater health, happiness and welfare of the women of India, and she is assured that in

Banquet at Junagadh.

this cause that she has at heart she can count always on the sympathy and help of Your Highness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you now to drink with me long life and every prosperity to our kindly host His Highness the Maharaja Rana Sahib of Porbandar.

BANQUET AT JUNAGADH.

20th Nov-
ember 1927.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Banquet at Junagadh :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I have to thank you, Your Highness, in the first place on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the kind way in which you have just proposed our health, and the rest of the company here to-night for the cordiality with which they have drunk it. We all owe a deep debt of gratitude to Your Highness for the hospitality you have shown us and for all the arrangements you have made for our comfort and entertainment.

I have long looked forward to the pleasure of meeting Your Highness in your ancient and historic capital, and it is an interesting reflection, as you have just pointed out, that this is the first occasion of its kind for more than a quarter of a century. Your city is indeed one that has many things to make it famous—the grim Uperkot guarding it from above ; the wonderful mass of the Girnar with its rocky paths worn smooth by the feet of countless pilgrims ; and its Asoka stone with memories of the earliest days of Indian history.

I have heard much of the ancient and honourable Babi house of Junagadh and of the steady loyalty and good faith which have marked all its dealings with the British Government. I congratulate Your Highness on your traditions and am confident that you will do your best not only to maintain them but to give them added

Banquet at Junagadh.

lustre. You have a great heritage, Nawab Sahib, involving heavy responsibilities. The position of rulers in these days is not easy ; and, if it is to be held with credit in the eyes of the world, it demands considerable personal attention and self-sacrifice. All power should rightly be accompanied by a sense of its responsibilities. Unless it is so tempered and controlled, it will certainly be misused, and in due course bring its own retribution. To select and support able and trustworthy officials is perhaps the most important factor in successful government ; but the personal example shown by the ruler, and the interest he himself takes in the welfare of his subjects are the real and only stable foundation of the high position in which his birth has placed him.

I am delighted to learn that you have had a good monsoon and that your people are contented and happy. Here as elsewhere in India the agriculturist is the vital factor in the country's prosperity, and Your Highness wisely recognises this in the special care you take for his welfare.

It gave me much pleasure to listen to Your Highness' account of the efficiency of your departments and the steady progress that is being made by them in developing your State's resources. I may say that all that I have seen myself, and have heard from my Agent and from others, bears out what Your Highness has just said on this subject.

I would wish to congratulate Your Highness in particular on your State Forces, both Lancers and Infantry, which are reported by the Military Adviser to be a model and example to all Kathiawar. Your Highness realises that if the help which is so freely offered to the Empire in times of crisis is to be of real value, the equipment, training and discipline of your troops must be beyond criticism.

Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot.

I can assure you that Lady Irwin and I share to the full Your Highness' regret that we have had to cut short the period of our visit. We had hoped very much to see more of your State, and especially to visit the Gir Jungles and meet the Indian lion in his last stronghold. I have read that the cause of their disappearance from the Jungles of Nawanagar was the sound of cannon fired at rebels in the sixties of last century. I trust that the sound of my 31 guns to-morrow morning may not reach the ears of Your Highness' lions and have a similar effect on them. I was glad to hear the other day that their numbers are not declining, though I confess that I had hoped that during my visit their numbers might have declined at least by one.

It is a pleasure to be assured by Your Highness that my new Political Secretary had won Your Highness' friendship during his tenure as my Agent in the Western India States, and I am glad to know that one who is now to be my adviser in all that concerns the Indian States should have the confidence of the rulers whose fortunes he will now watch over in another capacity. I am certain that Your Highness will find an equally firm friend and wise counsellor in Mr. Kealy.

I thank Your Highness again for your warm welcome and kindly hospitality. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink with me long life and all prosperity to our noble host His Highness Sir Mahabat Khan, Nawab of Junagadh.

PRIZE-GIVING AT THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAJKOT.

22nd November 1927.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the ceremony of the Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, and made the following speech :—

Princes and Chiefs of the Western India States, Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It gives me the

Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot.

greatest pleasure to preside at this Prize-giving to-day, and I should like to begin by congratulating all those Kumars to whom I have just handed the coveted rewards of hard and successful work. I must also offer my thanks and congratulations to those who have just given us such excellent recitations.

I wish to thank you, too, Mr. Principal, for the kind way in which you have referred to my visit in the speech to which we have just listened. I can assure you that Viceroy's find great satisfaction in the fact that their visits to Kathiawar can now be more frequent than they were in the past, and I wish that the intervals between them could be even further reduced. However, the world changes and we change with it ; and with the perfecting of modern means of transport I fancy that a term has been set to the comparative isolation of Kathiawar imposed upon it by its somewhat remote position on the map of India.

You have referred briefly, Mr. Principal, to the anxiety which has recently been felt by those who take an interest in Chiefs' Colleges. You are aware that their future has been receiving the attention of my Government, and that tentative proposals have been made for their reconstitution. Though it is premature for me at this moment to forecast the judgment of those concerned on these proposals, I am convinced that the Colleges have done and are doing work of high importance to India, and I am personally anxious to do everything that I can to extend the sphere of their utility.

I do not propose to detain you with a long speech. There are only a few things I wish to say to you, firstly, to the Princes and Chiefs who are here to-day and, secondly, to the Kumars who are members of this College.

To the first I speak not so much as to Princes and Chiefs but rather as to old boys and old friends of the

Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot.

Rajkumar College. As you, Mr. Principal, have pointed out, this College is a great co-operative effort started and very largely maintained by the Princes and Chiefs of the Western India States. They have reason to be proud of it. That they should have combined with this object, more than 50 years ago, is an example of what India to-day chiefly needs—the will to work whole-heartedly and for a common purpose with people of whom one personally perhaps knows little, and with whose point of view one may not at all times feel agreement. It is unnecessary for me to remind you of how much the Princes have it still in their hands to do for this College, and particularly of the part which old boys may play in maintaining the high standards and lofty traditions of their old school. I think that perhaps in the case of some schools in India this feature is not so noticeable as in our English Public School life. But here at Rajkot, where the thread of long family tradition runs happily through the school life, you have special opportunities to exert this kind of beneficial influence. Your “Old Boy” is perhaps the best critic that his school can have. He may be at times rather inclined to play the rôle of *laudator temporis acti se puero*, to mistrust innovations and to complain that “things are not as they were in his day”. That is a weakness to which most of us succumb with advancing years. But the old boy is your most faithful champion of the good name of the school, jealous of its best traditions, keenly desirous of its success in the class-room and on the playing field. And, in his interest and affection for his old school, you have a firm foundation for its future welfare.

As you, Mr. Principal, have pointed out, we see plenty of evidence around us of the generosity of old members of this College, and I hope that this fine spirit will continue to find many who are keen to emulate it. There is, or ought to be, no boy who does not owe an

Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot.

unpayable debt to his old school ; it has made him what he is and he can discharge a part of his obligation by becoming as it were a trustee for its good name and success.

To the Kumars of this College I can probably say little that has not often been said to them before. You will have, when you leave the College, to fill great and responsible positions, and your lives here may exert great and enduring influence upon how you acquit yourselves in them later on. Your people will rightly expect to find their rulers possessed of those qualities of intellect and character, which will enable them to fulfil the duties that birth has brought them. You have here the means of training intellect and moulding character. Use these wisely and you will be storing for yourselves treasures of permanent worth in your after-life ; neglect them, and you will when too late regret your wasted opportunities. You are here making friendships which will endure through life and may in future mean a potent bond between two States. But let me also ask you to look for a moment across wider spaces. When you come here you have probably seen very little of Kathiawar ; and you have perhaps taken little interest in anything outside your own homes. That is the experience of most English boys also. As you grow older and make friends, the play of mind on mind begins to implant wider interests, and you come to think of yourselves as members of a College that includes Kumars from all over Kathiawar and beyond. Later, as you become more senior, you realise that each of you is concerned in anything that concerns India, even if it may not appear directly to affect you. India, again, is a part of a wider organisation ; this country, and you along with it, cannot disregard anything of importance that may happen in the British Empire ; for whatever touches the Empire touches India, and what touches India touches you. But in these days we cannot even rest our eyes finally upon the Empire. Each part of the world

Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot.

has become, in the last hundred years, more dependent on the others than our ancestors would have dreamed possible, more dependent even than is generally realised to-day. This has given great opportunities to the leaders of nations ; but it has also brought great dangers. To take advantage of the opportunities and if possible to avert the dangers, an organisation has been formed that is without parallel in world history. India belongs to the League of Nations, and members of the Order of Princes have been among her most active and valued representatives. They have set you a good example, and I hope that you will make a special study of recent developments in the history of the world.

I am not suggesting that you should not keep the first place in your thoughts and in your affections for your own States. On the contrary, I would urge you, before all, to work loyally for them. But there is a foolish idea abroad that one can only serve one's own unit, be it State or Nation, Province or Empire, by refusing to consider anything beyond it. Yet the truth is that loyalty is not essentially narrow ; the true interests of a Nation or State cannot be discovered without looking beyond its boundaries ; and those interests cannot be served without working for the whole of which it forms a part. It has always been easy to arouse the patriotism of a people by appealing to their jealousies or their fears ; and that has given rise to the idea that a patriot is necessarily hostile to a foreigner, and that patriotism is the spirit of self-assertion. This is a profound mistake. Even self-interest demands consideration for others, and this applies to communities as to individuals. But the man of ordinary education and opportunity may not have the time or the interest to look beyond his own narrow circle ; it is therefore to you, Kumars, that he must turn for guidance. And, if you would guide your States wisely, you must look beyond them, and know something of other

Durbar at Rajkot.

States, of the Empire, and of the world. This will be brought home to you more clearly when you leave the College ; but it is not too early for you now to form opinions on big issues. Your opinions, at present, may not be well-founded or of much importance to other people ; yet to yourselves they will as your first political judgments be of great value, though you may revise them later. Let them be based on an effort to understand the facts. I think that the value of education is principally to be found in the acquisition of a sound judgment, well-trained and capable of distinguishing between what is true and what is specious, what is sound coin and what is counterfeit. And, inasmuch as we can never hope to make ourselves masters of all the subjects with which as administrators we may have to deal, we must seek to gain the faculty of so judging men that we can know whom to mistrust and to whom to give our confidence. This surely we learn at school, as here we also come to test our judgments by those of others, and learn from the clash of thought. I would ask you therefore to think over the dictum of a modern historian that “ No man is entitled to express an opinion upon any controversial question, until he can understand how men as able and honest as himself can hold opinions widely different from his own ”.

That is all I have to say. I wish you, Mr. Principal, with your Staff and all the Kumars, present and future, all success, happiness and prosperity in your work and games and life during many long years to come.

DURBAR AT RAJKOT.

His Excellency the Viceroy's address at the Rajkot Durbar is given below :—

22nd November 1927.

Chiefs and Talukdars of Kathiawar.—It is a great pleasure to me to address you here to-day as the third Viceroy who has seen Kathiawar since your States first came into touch with the British Government ; nor, after

Durbar at Rajkot.

the last twelve days, in which I hope that I have gained some little insight into your especial needs and problems, do I in any way regret my decision to visit the Kathiawar States thus early in my Viceroyalty.

In November 1924 when my predecessor, Lord Reading, on an occasion similar to the present, announced the creation of a Western India States Agency and the establishment of direct contact between the Rulers and Chiefs of Western India and the Central Government, he expressed the opinion that some of you might be inclined to fear that a formal and official relationship was about to take the place of the cordial and unfailing goodwill that had previously subsisted between your States and the Government of Bombay. I think I may now safely say that, if this was the case then, the intervening three years have amply proved that there was no foundation for any such apprehensions, and we may confidently assert that the rapid advances made by Kathiawar along every avenue of progress in recent years are a sure indication of the success of this great reform. I am also glad to observe that, in the large majority of cases that have come under my notice, the advice of Lord Reading "to inaugurate also a new period of mutual toleration, compromise and real co-operation in your relations with each other" has been taken to heart and loyally acted upon by you.

In these changing times, gentlemen, you are faced by the same problems as confront the greater States, but you have your own special difficulties also, in that smaller units may find it hard to reach the standard of administration demanded by modern opinion or to keep pace with the progress shown by their larger neighbours. I am not here to advocate what is impossible or to place before you ideals that are obviously beyond your reach. But I would ask you all to realise that the principal justification of all rule is that it should be good rule,

Durbar at Rajkot.

that you are the custodians of your peoples' interests, and that their welfare rather than selfish enjoyment should be your principal and constant aim. I am glad to understand that many of you appreciate this ; but it is so important that none should lag behind, that I feel myself justified in bringing it specially to your notice on this occasion. The provision of independent courts of justice, the provision of good schools and the maintenance of roads and communications are functions of Government which I would especially commend to your attention.

The prosperity of the cultivating classes is another important factor making for contentment, and I am told that in many States this is hampered and improvement is stayed, because the cultivator is a mere tenant-at-will liable to ejection at a moment's notice. A right of tenancy has been found elsewhere to be an indispensable incentive for better agriculture. I know there are difficulties and that measures are required to prevent the right falling into the hands of the money-lenders. But, when dangers can be foreseen, they can be avoided, and I would strongly direct your attention to the far-reaching benefits inherent in security of tenure, to the cultivator, to the countryside and ultimately to the ruler of the State or Taluka himself. For his people's interests are in reality his own, and he need not doubt that any improvement in their general conditions will be later on reflected in the public revenues. I trust that the findings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture may produce much of interest to the land-owners in this Province. I would recommend all of you who can do so to visit the Agricultural Show which will be held next year by the Bombay Government at Ahmedabad. You will not fail there to learn much of value to your tenants in new methods of agriculture and improved varieties of crops, though I am well aware that in the matter of horse-breeding and the rearing of live-stock some of the farmers of Kathiawar have won for themselves a position of pre-eminence.

Banquet at Rajkot.

As representative of the King-Emperor, I have been distressed beyond measure by the terrible havoc that has been wrought by the recent floods in some parts of Kathiawar, and I know that many of you here to-day have undergone heavy losses, although the damage has happily not been so serious as in the neighbouring country of Gujerat. To those of you who have suffered I offer my sincere sympathy ; but it is perhaps some consolation, after the drought and famine that you have sometimes experienced in former years, to know that the water-level in rivers and wells must have risen to its maximum, assuring success to the winter crops and providing the copious vegetation which may bring good rain again next year. In 1926 also the monsoon was plentiful, and I trust we may now stand at the commencement of a cycle of good years and an era of progress and prosperity for all of you in Kathiawar.

Chiefs and Talukdars, I am sincerely glad to have met you here to-day ; as Viceroy and Governor-General I have special care for the interests of all Indian States, both great and small, and I should have felt my visit to the Western India States Agency incomplete without this opportunity of greeting you personally and making your acquaintance. I would wish to assure you, as has already been done by my predecessor, that you can count upon the friendly help and sympathy of myself and my officers in your troubles, upon our advice in your difficulties and upon our encouragement in all measures taken by you for the improvement of your administrations and your peoples' good.

BANQUET AT RAJKOT.

2nd Novem-
ber 1927.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Banquet at Rajkot :—

Nawab Sahib, Your Highness, Chiefs and Talukdars, Ladies and Gentlemen.—On behalf of Lady Irwin and

Banquet at Rajkot.

myself I thank you very warmly for your cordial welcome to us this evening and the kind terms in which our healths have been proposed. It has been a great pleasure to us to have the opportunity of visiting the Western India Agency within the second year of my Viceroyalty and of realising at first hand the interest and importance of the States in political relations with my Agent. What I have seen and learned can now be of value to me during the greater portion of my tenure of office. Even a brief visit can be effective in enabling one to view local questions in a truer perspective.

For many years you were connected with the Bombay Government and your aspirations and difficulties were not so directly as they are now in charge of the Viceroy and the Imperial Government. But certainly since I assumed office in April 1926, I have not been allowed to forget Kathiawar, and some at least of your problems have been insistent in their claims on my attention. It is not surprising therefore that I have seized an early occasion of coming to see for myself a group of States presenting such a variety of interesting aspects.

You have rightly, Nawab Sahib, laid stress on the many claims of your Province to be visited by the Viceroy. I have heard of the ancient and honourable history of your Ruling Houses and of the steadfast loyalty to the British Crown and friendly co-operation with its officers which have marked your relations with the British Government during over 100 years. Your fine traditions will be an incentive to future progress, and I am assured that in all times whether good or evil His Majesty the King-Emperor can count on the devotion of all the Princes and Chiefs of the States of Western India.

Other States may call to the artist, the sportsman and antiquarian by the beauty of their scenery, the wild density of their hills and jungles, their ruined cities and

Banquet at Rajkot.

historic past. While you have these also you can more fully justify your invitation by your modern and progressive administrations and your intimate association with problems of vital and present interest to India as a whole. As a great cotton-growing country you are closely linked with one of India's most important industries ; your wide plains have favoured the rapid development of an extensive system of railways ; your merchants and traders have been for generations in touch with the life and energy of the great Ports of Bombay and Karachi. It is not, therefore, remarkable if your administrations reflect and respond to modern ideas more fully than where these conditions are non-existent. It is possible that these conditions, while making your problems more vivid, also make them more troublesome to the Government of India ; and the Political Secretary will bear me out when I say that the Western India States Agency occupies quite its full share of the time of the Central Secretariat ! This is partly inevitable and due to the complexity of interests involved in the many interlacing jurisdictions that mark this Agency. I am glad to understand from my Agent that the States as a whole have responded to my predecessor's appeal for compromise and arbitration, but there still appears to be a residuum of cases which are not amenable to such settlement. I trust that they will grow fewer as time passes, and that future Viceroys may enjoy the charming friendship of the cultured Princes of Kathiawar without the painful necessity of giving constant decisions that cannot satisfy one at least of the contending parties !

I would have wished that my time among you had been longer so that I could have visited more of your States, Bhavnagar for whose administration during the minority of the young Maharaja we are responsible, Dhrangadhra with its new industries, Morvi and Gondal, the pioneers of railway and other enterprises, Palitana

Banquet at Rajkot.

with its hill of which I have heard almost too much—and many others. In these days a Viceroy's time is greatly occupied, and it is impossible for him to visit all the places he would wish. I have however seen enough to realise your importance and to understand the position given to you by common repute as among the vanguard of the progressive Princes of India.

I know well that in all your endeavours to maintain the high standard of your Administration you have had a whole-hearted supporter in the late Agent to the Governor General, Mr. Watson, and that you will continue to have a firm friend and also adviser in Mr. Kealy. It has been a great pleasure to me throughout my recent tour to find on all sides evidences of the mutual friendship and esteem which exist between my new Political Secretary and the Princes of the Western India States. Such feelings will not fail to be of the greatest assistance to him in the responsible duties which now devolve upon him.

Along with all other thoughtful members of your order you are now anxious and deeply concerned about the question of your constitutional position in regard to, and your future relations with, the Government of British India. It is a political puzzle of the utmost difficulty and one to which I do not attempt here and now to give any final answer. I would only say that, in my view, the more your Administrations approximate to the standards of efficiency demanded by enlightened public opinion elsewhere, the easier it will be to find a just and permanent solution. Your rights, dignities and privileges under your Treaties and Sanads have been frequently reaffirmed and I am certain that no British Government will fail to maintain them. Nor even apart from them would any change affecting your position be likely to be proposed without the fullest possible consideration being given to your views and sentiments.

Banquet at Rajkot.

In my conversations, however, on this general question with many of the Princes I have become aware of a strong body of opinion in favour of early exploration of some of the more technical ground by which it is surrounded. Whatever may be found to be the ultimate solution of the wider problem of the States viewed in relation to developments in British India, there is, I think, force in the contention of many of the Princes' order that there are meanwhile certain practical questions which may profitably be examined without delay. It has therefore been decided by the Secretary of State to appoint a small expert Committee, firstly, to report upon the relationship between the Paramount power and the States, with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, and usage, sufferance and other causes; and, secondly, to enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States and to make any recommendations that they may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment.

The personnel, I trust, will be announced shortly and it is hoped that the Committee will assemble in India in order to commence its enquiry in the near future. I have little doubt that it will command the confidence of the States and meet with all the assistance it may require at the hands of the members of Your Highness' Order.

I of course share the regret felt by all of you that it has recently been found necessary to reimpose a Customs Line at Viramgam. Such a line must, I recognise, in some ways be an inconvenience. The disadvantages are, however, being reduced to a minimum by the successful efforts that are being made to work in co-operation with the States. The circumstances which have led to the measure have been involved and difficult, and I and my Government have to guard the interests of British India while doing justice, to the best of our judgment, to the legitimate claims of the Maritime States.

Banquet at Kapurthala.

I am glad to be told that your experience has justified the transfer of your States to direct relations with the Government of India and its officers. The change was made before I reached India, and I find it difficult to realise conditions in which so large and important a group of States did not share in the common policy and methods of the Political Department directly under the Viceroy. All systems have their drawbacks, but it is my hope that you will continue to be satisfied with the present arrangements and will find at the hands of the Viceroy and his officers not less sympathy, consideration and attention than you had from the Government of Bombay.

I hope to meet many of you again at the Chamber of Princes in Delhi and at Simla if ever you travel to that over-crowded mountain top. I thank you once more for the kind things you have said about Lady Irwin and myself. We shall both cherish the most pleasant recollections of our visit to Kathiawar and of your welcome to us this evening.

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BANQUET AT KAPURTHALA.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied in the following terms ^{26th November 1927.} to the toast of his health by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala at the Banquet at Kapurthala on the 26th November :—

Your Highness.—This is indeed a rare occasion and I rejoice that your hospitality has enabled me and so many others to be present at it. I must begin by asking Your Highness to allow me as spokesman for all your guests to say how warmly we wish you many and most happy returns of the birthday which we so auspiciously celebrate to-day. The fiftieth anniversary of any event in the life of an ordinary man is apt to find him nearing the end of his active career, or in mellow retirement. We are delighted to think, Your Highness, that your Golden

Banquet at Kapurthala.

Jubilee as Ruler should come while your natural force is still unabated, and you are able still with full energy to devote yourself not only to the affairs of your State but also to wider and Imperial politics. If I may be allowed for once at a State Banquet to make a remark on our host's personal appearance, I would say that nobody looking at His Highness to-night would readily believe that half a century has passed since he took his seat upon the *Gadi*. May I, while I am on this topic, go one step further, and echo His Highness' satisfaction that whereas, since he came of age, the figure of his State's revenue has doubled, that of his own weight has decreased by half.

Your Highness has just spoken in the kindest terms of Lady Irwin and myself, and we both warmly appreciate all you have said. I would also ask you to believe how grateful we are for the hospitality with which you have entertained us and for all the trouble which you and Your Highness' officials have taken to make our stay in Kapurthala so comfortable and pleasant.

The brief sketch you gave us to-night, Your Highness, of the progress in internal administration during the last 50 years was enough to indicate the vast improvements which your rule has brought to the State. It is not for me to follow you in detail through them, but I know both from my own personal observation and from what I have heard from my advisers, that Kapurthala ranks high among the Indian States in the quality of its administration. This, I have no doubt, is largely due to the sound principles upon which that administration is based, to the keen interest which Your Highness has always taken personally in State affairs, and to the attention to detail which you apply in a remarkable degree to all that comes under your supervision. Among the most valuable qualities in any ruler are the faculty to choose wisely those to whom he entrusts responsibility, and the capacity to trust those whom he has so chosen. I know very well

Banquet at Kapurthala.

how much, as you have said, Your Highness' State owes to the ability and efficiency of your Chief Minister, Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid, who has enjoyed Your Highness' confidence and filled this responsible post with success and credit for the last 12 years.

To this high standard in the public service we must largely attribute the peace and contentment which continue to prevail in your State, and the harmony which exists among the various sections of your subjects. He is indeed a happy man in India to-day who can say that in his part of the country no discord exists between the two great communities, and I know that Your Highness will do everything in your power to preserve this happy state of affairs. It is a great pleasure to me to hear of the close co-operation which has always existed between Your Highness and the British authorities. A striking example of this was seen in 1923 when the storm centre of the Akali trouble was not far from your borders, and the Police of Kapurthala played an important part in combating sedition, and worked whole-heartedly in conjunction with the Punjab Police in putting down the forces of lawlessness and disorder. I sincerely hope that those troublous days are past, never to return, but I know that, if need be, we may always rely on Your Highness' traditional friendship to Government and loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Your Highness' State troops continue to maintain their high reputation. The reports I receive of them are excellent and speak of the fine quality of the troops and specially of the proficiency they have attained in signalling. I was greatly impressed by the turnout and general appearance of the Guards of Honour and Escort which I had the pleasure of seeing yesterday. Great credit is due to the Durbar and to Your Highness personally for the attention you have bestowed on this important part of your administration, and I have no doubt that any future

Banquet at Kapurthala.

contingency that may arise will find your State troops as ready and fit to take the field as they have been in the past.

The question which Your Highness has touched upon of the future relations between the Government of India and the Indian States is, as you know, of deep concern to me, and I can assure you that I am most anxious if I can to pave the way for a solution of this difficult problem in such fashion as may be to the satisfaction and the benefit of both parties. Your Highness has no doubt noticed the announcement I made a few days ago at Rajkot that the Secretary of State has decided to appoint a small expert Committee which will be able to explore some of the more technical ground by which this question is surrounded. I am satisfied that Your Highness is right in believing that the necessity of good internal administration is perhaps more vital to the States to-day than it has ever been before, and I rejoice to know that Your Highness so faithfully puts into practice the principles you have enunciated to-night.

I have referred to the part Your Highness has played in International politics. In a letter which I lately received from Lord Lytton, the leader of the Indian delegation to the recent Assembly of the League of Nations, he spoke in the highest terms of the value of Your Highness' presence at Geneva this year. As you have just said, your familiarity with European life and politics stands you in good stead on such occasions, and India has been fortunate in having as one of her representatives at Geneva for two successive years one who could dispense such sound sense within the Assembly Hall and such princely hospitality outside.

Your Highness, it is now with very real and sincere pleasure that I am able to announce publicly that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased

*Opening of the Young Men's Christian Association Building in
New Delhi.*

to confer on you the Grand Cross of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. I congratulate you most heartily and with my own congratulations I know that I can associate those of the whole company here to-night.

It adds to my pleasure that I should further be authorised by His Majesty to announce this evening that your Private Secretary, Sardar Muhabbat Rai, and your Military Secretary, Sardar Jarmani Dass, whose services at Geneva were I know of the greatest value, have been appointed Officers of the same Most Excellent Order.

I am glad to think that your long and successful period of rule, no less than the services you have rendered in the cause of world peace, should have been recognised by such a high distinction, and I am particularly gratified that it should have been possible for me to make this announcement on so memorable an occasion as your Golden Jubilee.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink the health of our distinguished host His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and with the toast to offer him your congratulations on the well-won honour I have just announced.

OPENING OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING IN NEW DELHI.

H. E. the Viceroy opened the Young Men's Christian Association Building in New Delhi on the 3rd December with the following address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen.—I did not come here to-day so much to make a speech as to gain for myself a personal impression of the work which the Young Men's Christian Association have been performing and are yet to perform in Delhi and to gain some acquaintance of the surround-

Opening of the Young Men's Christian Association Building in New Delhi.

ings and conditions in which the work will be carried on. But I must say briefly what pleasure it gives me to have been invited to perform this ceremony to-day. For I have heard a good deal of the work which the Association have for some years been carrying on in Delhi City, and I am quite sure that, if this further development which we are inaugurating to-day continues to follow the same principles of co-operation and mutual service, it is destined to have a very real influence for good in the lives of many present and future residents of New Delhi.

I think we must all have been struck by many features of the statement which Mr. Singha made to us this afternoon, perhaps most of all by the catholicity of membership of the Delhi Young Men's Christian Association. It shows that there is plenty of common ground—the common ground of humanity—on which people of all creeds, if they have the will, can combine, to the inestimable advantage of all. I believe it is a fact that nine-tenths of the subscriptions on which the Delhi Association depends come from those who are not Christians and that men of all communities lend their services freely for the benefit of their fellow-men without question of caste or creed.

Mr. Singha has mentioned the names of many gentlemen who are in particular entitled to our gratitude for all they have done in this work. I and all of us here to-day echo all that he has said. He has not, however, said what he himself has done, and I know that a great deal of the success of the Delhi City Branch has been due to the single-hearted enthusiasm with which he has carried out his own onerous duties. I am very glad to think that the development of this institution in New Delhi will be in such capable hands as those of Mr. Singha and his many devoted colleagues.

*Opening of the Young Men's Christian Association Building in
New Delhi.*

Mr. Paul, whom I am very glad to welcome here to-day, has said that the Young Men's Christian Association does not tolerate any partisan propaganda. I need hardly say how heartily I endorse that principle. If it were otherwise, indeed, I feel that the Young Men's Christian Association in India would never have reached the position it now holds throughout the country and could not for so many years have performed the admirable work of which we are all well aware.

The ideals which the Association sets before itself are not easy of achievement, but the path towards them lies in one territory alone, the realm of unselfish and single-minded devotion to a cause which is as wide as humanity itself. In the pursuit of these ideals the Association can have no enemies except the forces which are everywhere at work to lead men to substitute manner ambitions of self-interest or the like for the nobler purpose of service of their fellows. So long as members of the Association are true to these principles, there will be few quarters from which they will not receive encouragement and goodwill.

I will now ask your permission to open this new building. The fact that its construction, as Mr. Singha and Mr. Paul have said, has been made possible by the generosity of a well-wisher in Canada is in itself a symbol of the all-embracing brotherhood of humanity. Let me express our gratitude to Mr. Massey and to all those who, by financial assistance or by personal service, have helped to bring this building into existence, and to wish it and all those connected with it all success and prosperity for many years to come.

6th December 1927. DEPUTATION OF THE CALCUTTA MARWARI ASSOCIATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in reply to the representatives of the Marwari Association, expressed his great pleasure at meeting them. He said that few would deny that industrial and commercial and business enterprise was one of the foundations on which political life was built up and that one of the tests of any political system was the scope it gave to the productive elements in a country to flourish and extend themselves. He referred to the wide commercial interests of the Marwaris and their consequent interest in political questions. Referring to the statement of the deputation that Government was apt to leave loyalists in the lurch and to bow to agitators, His Excellency admitted a loud-spoken minority sometimes got more than its share of a hearing. This was partly the fault of those who are not articulate enough. These were days of organisation—in politics as well as in business. If the Marwari Association lacked political organisation and power to make their voice heard and their views known, they ought to take steps to remedy this. They *must* organise, and they might be assured that Government would never underrate the well-being of the less articulate communities. They must, however, themselves be prepared to take their part by placing themselves in a position to assert their views, whether to Government, the Statutory Commission or any other body.

His Excellency then referred to the criticisms against the Statutory Commission. He said that though Indians were entitled to say that a mistake had been made by His Majesty's Government, they had no right to say that a calculated affront had been intended. He need hardly say that His Majesty's Government realised, to the full, the need of the greatest possible goodwill between Britain and India in their official, commercial and other relations. His Excellency also said that though Indians might, if they so thought, say that the wrong method had been

Opening of the "Sir Leslie Wilson Hospital" and laying of the Foundation-stone of the "Sir Ranjit Singhji High School" at Baria.

chosen of associating Indians with the Commission, they had no right to say that Indians were not being definitely and at every stage associated. He said that the future historian would pay little attention to the personnel of the Commission ; he would lay great emphasis on the fact that for the first time in the relations between Britain and India representatives of the Indian Parliament had been invited to confer with the representatives of the British Parliament. His Excellency went on to say that in the next few months everyone would be called upon to decide whether or not they would support the Commission. It was no use standing out and giving no opinion at all ; everyone must range himself on one side or the other and he could hardly doubt that everyone with a real stake in the country, as they considered the issues involved, would recognise the necessity of doing everything in their power to ensure that the enquiry to be undertaken by the Statutory Commission should be the means of assisting both Great Britain and India to form a wise and well-founded judgment on these grave matters. In conclusion His Excellency again emphasised that the Marwari Association were themselves responsible for seeing that their point of view was effectively presented.

OPENING OF THE "SIR LESLIE WILSON HOSPITAL"
AND LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF
THE "SIR RANJIT SINGHJI HIGH SCHOOL" AT
BARIA.

8th December
1927.

In performing the above ceremonies at Baria on the 8th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The nature of the double ceremony which Your Highness has asked me to perform to-day has a significance which in these progressive times it is hardly necessary for me to emphasise.

Opening of the "Sir Leslie Wilson Hospital" and laying of the Foundation-stone of the "Sir Ranjit Singhji High School" at Baria.

It is a happy symbol of Your Highness' continuity of purpose that as one building is completed the foundation-stone of another is laid ; and the fact that one building is a hospital and the other a school is in itself sufficient evidence of Your Highness' constant solicitude for the physical and intellectual well-being of the inhabitants of Baria State. I am glad of this opportunity of complying with Your Highness' request and of being intimately associated with institutions which will perpetuate the names of Your Highness and of His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, whom I am proud to rank among my friends and whose unfailing interest in medical relief has been of such benefit to the Bombay Presidency during the past four years.

I most heartily congratulate Your Highness on the successful completion of a new and well-equipped hospital. The growing popularity of medical institutions in this State is a clear and welcome indication not only that the distrust of modern medicine is steadily diminishing, but also that Your Highness' hospitals and dispensaries are being rightly and efficiently administered for the people's good. This hospital, which I have no doubt will claim Your Highness constant and watchful interest, cannot fail to remedy a sorely-felt need in your State, and I know that many sufferers who would previously have been left to languish and to die will have cause in the future to be deeply grateful to the enlightened benefactor who is their Ruler. I am gratified to learn that the philanthropy of Colonel Maharaj Naharsinhji and Mr. Harilal Parekh is to be commemorated by the thoughtful action of Your Highness in associating for all time two wards of the hospital with their memory.

I am well aware that Your Highness' efforts in the direction both of healing the bodies and of training the

Opening of the "Sir Leslie Wilson Hospital" and laying of the Foundation-stone of the "Sir Ranjit Singhji High School" at Baria.

minds of your subjects have been hampered at every turn by unusual obstacles ; the vagaries of the climate, the inaccessibility of many districts of the State, the conservatism of your general population, leading them to view new departures with suspicion, have made the introduction of modern medicine and progressive education an ideal difficult of attainment. It is all the more creditable to Your Highness that you have so far accomplished your desires ; indeed, the building of which I am to-day, by Your Highness' indulgence, to be privileged to lay the foundation-stone will be the second High School in the Baria State. I hope and believe that in due course the onward sweep of education will lead to a demand for yet more High Schools, and that Your Highness will have occasion still further to add to their number at no very distant date in the future.

I am interested to learn that education both primary and secondary is free in Baria, and that there are also scholarships provided for deserving students. Your Highness' valuable scheme for giving to primary education an agricultural tinge is the seed of a policy which will prove its merit increasingly as time goes on ; education is principally intended to fit a man to make the best of his environment, and I feel convinced that vocational training of the type that Your Highness has inaugurated is of exceptional importance in an agricultural country like India. The conception of the "scholar-ploughman" is far removed from the old traditional hierarchy of mediæval India, with its high-caste landlord and low-caste tiller of the soil ; but it is a conception which is more in keeping with the ideals of modern democracy than many arbitrary distinctions between man and man that exist to-day. I think perhaps one of the chief contributory causes of the middle class employment, which is one of the most

State Banquet at Baria.

disquieting features of Indian life to-day, is the refusal of the young man of education to return to his old village and use his knowledge on the land, and I am glad to see that Your Highness realises the necessity of equipping the young idea in your State with a sound knowledge of the theory of farming. I am pleased to hear that the consequence of transferring the control of educational institutions to the State ten years ago has been to stimulate the Durbar to great efforts in this direction ; Baria has done well in accepting the option offered to all the major States in the Agency of assuming their own responsibilities of school-inspection, and I trust that Your Highness' officials will continue to prove themselves worthy of the confidence that has been reposed in them.

I will now ask Your Highness' permission to proceed to declare open the " Sir Leslie Wilson Hospital " and to lay the foundation-stone of the High School which is to have the honour of bearing Your Highness' name.

STATE BANQUET AT BARIA.

8th December 1927. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the State Banquet at Baria on the 8th December :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It has given Lady Irwin and myself, Your Highness, the greatest pleasure to make the acquaintance of your State and its people, and the interest of our visit here is enhanced by the knowledge that this pleasure and privilege have fallen to the lot of no previous Viceroy. We thank you gratefully for the cordial welcome you have extended to us and for the kind terms in which you have just spoken. I particularly value the assurance Your Highness has given of the continued loyalty and devotion of yourself and your people to His Majesty the King-Emperor, a loyalty which has been proved in the past and will, I know, not be found wanting in the future.

State Banquet at Baria.

I am indeed, Your Highness, not unaware of the history of your ancient House, of its conquest and rule of Champaner, its struggle against invaders and neighbouring enemies, and of the heroic deeds of your ancestors of whom the chronicler has said that "they were no unworthy scions of a race to which has been assigned the palm of martial intrepidity among all the royal houses of India".

A hundred and twenty-five years have passed since Baria State first came into contact with the British power. By that date Your Highness' house had indeed lost some of its old material possessions and no longer held sway over the wide territories it had ruled in the past. But it had lost none of its old independence and still carried its head high, even as it does to-day.

Baria troops readily took the field in company with the British against their common antagonists, and the assistance they eagerly rendered during that troublous period was acknowledged to be of the greatest value. That tradition still stands firm. Your Highness' two platoons of infantry and troop of cavalry form a highly efficient force, well-run and keen on their work. Their turn-out is reported to be excellent, and I am glad to hear that they have made such a favourable impression when joining in neighbouring manœuvres with units of the Indian Army. I am glad to know that we can trust to Your Highness to turn out if need be such an efficient body of men, and I have reason to believe that in the event of trouble Your Highness and Your Highness' brother would be found at the head of your armed forces.

Your Highness has referred to the scheme you have in mind to extend the cultivation of your State by the construction of irrigation works, and I need hardly say that I shall be keenly interested to hear whether your investigations show that this is feasible. You have also urged the necessity of building further feeder lines of

State Banquet at Baria.

railways. You may be aware that the question of railway construction and development in the whole area in question is under examination by the Railway Board, and an officer deputed by them for this purpose has recently visited the Agency. My Government is fully alive to the value of opening up country by means of railways, but you will realise that rival claims have also to be considered. In the meantime, however, it is satisfactory to know that sanction has recently been given to the construction of a line from Piplod to Deugad Baria.

I have seen a long list, Your Highness, of the progressive measures which you have carried out in your State during your period of rule. I have referred earlier to-day to your achievements in the realms of education and medical relief. That you also have the agricultural prosperity of your subjects at heart is proved by the revision of your system of taxation, your institution of a Savings Bank for agriculturists, and your grant of occupancy rights in agricultural lands to cultivators. Your interest in the promotion of industries and commerce and in the improvement of your towns and villages is patent too to the observer. I am particularly pleased that Your Highness should have seen fit to mark the occasion of my visit by further action which will in due time enure to the benefit of your subjects. I have no doubt that you reap the reward of all these labours in the gratitude and increased happiness of your people.

Of Your Highness' personal services to the Government there is also much to say. In all emergencies you have given proof of your practical loyalty and anxiety to serve the King-Emperor. You served in the Great War, and, if you had had your way, you would have been found with our recent defensive force in Shanghai. In all ways indeed when opportunity offers I know that the British Government can always count upon your valuable assistance.

Opening of the Boy Scouts Jamboree in Bombay.

Our stay in Baria has been regrettably short, and we would willingly have devoted more of our time, if it had been possible, to gaining a better acquaintance with Your Highness' State. We thank you sincerely for the hospitality you have shown us to-day, and we shall often look back with pleasure to our visit.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink to the health and prosperity of His Highness the Raja of Baria.

OPENING OF THE BOY SCOUTS JAMBOREE IN
BOMBAY.

In opening the Boy Scouts Jamboree in Bombay on the 11th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

11th Decem-
ber 1927.

Brother Scouts.—It gives me great pleasure to be among you all to-day and to take part, as Chief Scout for India and Burma, in this Jamboree, which I believe is one of the biggest that has ever taken place in India.

I have been much struck by the growth of scouting in India ever since I became your Chief Scout. This year's Census, which has just been completed, shows a total of over 108,000 Scouters and Scouts in India and Burma, an increase of nearly 28,000 in one year. In the previous year the increase was almost as great, so you may all feel certain that you are taking part in a movement which has a great future before it. And as numbers have grown, so has efficiency.

I have inspected bodies of Scouts all over India, and have always been impressed by their smartness and keenness, and I am very pleased to see the fine and efficient turn-out here to-day. But this Jamboree has a special significance. As Sir Chunilal Mehta has said, Scouts from all the four corners of India have gathered together

Opening of the Boy Scouts Jamboree in Bombay.

here, of many different races and creeds. And this gathering is therefore significant as a symbol of the brotherhood of Scouts all over India,—a brotherhood which, as Sir Chunilal Mehta has well said, revives the best traditions of the old teaching of India. And as Scouts are brothers all over India, so are they brothers all over the British Empire.

Many of you, I have no doubt, are now seeing Bombay for the first time. You will carry back to your homes a wonderful picture of a great city, a great harbour, of crowded streets and shipping from all over the world. But another impression which I hope you will carry away from this Jamboree is an increased realisation of the brotherhood of all Scouts. A scout is a Scout all the world over ; anything you do as Scouts in your own particular troop or association affects the credit of Scouts all over India.

That is one thing you should take away from this Jamboree with you. Another, I hope, is the determination to remember and adapt anything you have learnt from other Scouts whom you have met here. I have no doubt each troop has been comparing itself with its neighbours, thinking that in such and such a way its own turn out is the best. That is as it should be ; pride in yourself is the basis of all self-respect. But this does not mean that you have nothing to learn from others, and I feel sure that one result of this Jamboree will be an increase of efficiency in Scouting far outside the limits of Bombay itself.

Before I say goodbye, I wish to express my gratitude to your Provincial Chief Scout, His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, for allowing me the privilege of opening this Jamboree to-day. I know well how much Scouting in Bombay owes to Sir Leslie Wilson, and how fortunate you are in having a Chief Scout who himself is both a boy and a Scout at heart. I must thank you too, Sir Chunilal

Milowners Association Dinner, Bombay.

Mehta, and Mr. Venkateswaran and your lieutenants for all the trouble you have taken to make this great gathering a success.

Brother Scouts I wish you all goodbye and good luck, and all success both now and throughout your lives.

MILLOWNERS ASSOCIATION DINNER, BOMBAY.

The following reply was made by His Excellency the Viceroy to the toast of his health at the Milowners Association Dinner at Bombay on the 12th December :—

12th Decem-
ber 1927

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—It is a real pleasure to me to be here to-night as your guest and I wish to express my sincere gratitude for the cordial manner in which you have all responded to the toast which the Chairman has just proposed. As you have just said, Mr. Chairman, it has generally been the rôle of Bombay in the past to welcome the coming and to speed the parting Viceroy, seeing little of him in mid-career. I do not know what reasons forced my predecessors to take this self-denying ordinance, but I do not think we need suspect them of any deliberate design to avoid your city except on two occasions, on the threshold of office when a man is still immune from criticism, or, as some might say, when as yet he had had no opportunity of doing wrong, and at the close of office, when he can speedily leave criticism behind, or when his opportunities of wrongdoing in India are on the point of being finally extinguished. The true reason, I fancy, was that each Viceroy like a gourmet keeps the tit-bit to the end. Ever since I came to India I decided to visit Bombay as soon as I could and I am very glad that my hopes in this matter have been so pleasantly fulfilled. There is, apart from all other considerations, the vital importance of your city to India and the Empire. It was no bad bargain which the King of England made in 1661 when he took

Millowners Association Dinner, Bombay.

the island as part of the dowry of a Princess. You will agree that—in 20th Century jargon—it was ‘some’ wedding present. He seems, however, to have been less prudent a year or two later, when he sold it to the East India Company for ten pounds. This, I need hardly tell you, was before the Union with Scotland, but I quote it as an early example of the solicitude which the British Government have always shown for the Bombay business man. Since that somewhat indifferent bargain, Bombay has never looked back. Her prosperity has gradually increased, now slowly now apace, and the result to-day is a great city with a great public life under the inspiration of great leaders, some of whom, like the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, are no longer with us, and many of whom I am glad to see here to-night.

As Mr. Mody has hinted, yours is a city which has ever made a ready response to any demand on its generosity of public spirit ; one calls to mind the princely benefactions of the late Sir Dinshaw Petit, and the untiring activity in public and private life of that grand old man of Indian politics, Sir Dinshaw Wacha. In all this building up of your City’s position, the deciding factor has been the co-operation or friendly rivalry of Indian and European merchants working side by side. I doubt whether any other city in the world contains so many distinct national types or is so entirely cosmopolitan in character, as your Chairman has observed ; and each section of the community has played its individual part in making Bombay what she is to-day. I think I may say that the influence of Bombay in India, in whatever field of its many-sided activities, whether politics, or finance, or sport, is difficult to exaggerate and is, I sometimes suspect, a good deal greater than your natural modesty permits you to believe.

In the creation of this position, I can assure you, I am not blind to what has been due to the great mill industry, which is to a great extent the foundation of

Millowners Association Dinner, Bombay.

Bombay's prosperity, and of that of a great part of the country as well. Vast numbers of people are to-day supported directly or indirectly by the industry—in the factory or the field, at the loom or at the plough, all making their contribution to, and in turn reacting to, the economic needs of a world of which all the parts are becoming daily more interdependent. Your size and importance render you responsible for large numbers of persons from whom you draw your labour—it is your business that has created this human concentration, and I would ask you to use all your influence to the end of bringing all members of your Association to recognise the moral obligation that rests on them in such matters as housing, health and general welfare of their workers.

I appreciate how much many of you have done and are doing to-day, but the surface of the problem is only scratched, and the health and mortality figures of your city are a grim reminder both of how many-sided the problem is and how far we yet are from being able to congratulate ourselves upon the results of the efforts made. I know very well the difficulties, but every year that passes will see the civilised conscience of the world more and more aroused upon these matters, and it behoves us all, officials and unofficials, to keep them constantly before our minds. You will not however, I know, expect me to compare the importance of the industry with that of other Indian enterprises or to say at this moment when I am just about to leave the port for the starboard side of India, whether cotton or jute is my favourite flower. Still, leaving aside comparisons, all the world knows what a great structure the Bombay mill industry has become, and it is a structure which could not have been built without each community taking its share in the work. It stands to-day as a concrete proof of what well-directed energy can achieve.

Millowners Association Dinner, Bombay.

I do not propose to say much about the present position of the mill industry to-night. Business would not be business but for its periodical ups and downs, and a temporary set back was perhaps to be expected after the feverish activity and soaring prices of the Great War. I am confident of the industry's ability to overcome its difficulties for I know that your Association will never spare time or trouble to promote the best interests of this great trade. Of my Government's good-will and sympathy you need never be in doubt, and I cannot help referring here to the friendly battles which have been waged on this subject during the past year. In the first place I would say that after all that has happened it is very forgiving and generous of your Association to entertain me like this. I almost feel that you are heaping coals of fire on my head, for your deputation left Simla last summer having obtained, possibly as much as you expected, but certainly not as much as you would have liked. But in spite of that you are returning the compliment by plying me with all that hospitable Bombay can offer.

The same friendly spirit has, I am glad to say, characterised all the discussions which have taken place between your representatives and the spokesmen of Government. Mr. Mody has referred to his consistently cordial relations with Sir George Rainy, though, indeed I am not prepared to shoulder responsibility for Sir George's behaviour at the Committee table of which you, Mr. Chairman, have taken note : the joint liability of my Council does not go as far as that ! At the same time I wonder whether you may not occasionally think that his wide experience in Tariff Enquiries makes him more difficult to convince than might be the case with one who had not served this arduous apprenticeship. A President of the Tariff Board turned Member of Council is not altogether unlike a poacher turned gamekeeper.

As an indication of the co-operation between the Government and Millowners, I might mention the Trade

Millowners Association Dinner, Bombay.

Mission which is shortly to be sent to certain countries to review their possibilities as markets for Indian cotton goods, and to make recommendations for the encouragement of the export of cotton manufactures from India. I have every hope that this constructive effort to assist the cotton export-trade will bear valuable fruit, and I am glad that a representative of your Association has been able to lend his services for this important Mission.

I am very glad that I have been able to extend the friendships I made in Simla last summer by meeting to-night so many leading mill-owners. For there is nothing so valuable as personal contact in making each side realise the other's difficulties ; we are sometimes apt to imagine that, whatever the obstacles that may stand in our own path, the way of others is smooth or would be if they were only reasonably intelligent ! It is, I think, very often in friendly intercourse like that of to-night that we arrive at a fuller understanding and appreciation of one another's point of view.

Before I sit down, Mr. Chairman, I must say how cordially I wish your Association and the industry it represents a long life of continued and increasing prosperity. Your Association is valuable not only to yourselves ; it is also a great asset to the Government of India. There is hardly a single important question connected with industries, factory legislation or labour during the past fifty years in which the Government has not been assisted by the considered views of the mill-owners of Bombay. Your members have played and are playing a conspicuous part in Imperial, Provincial and Municipal Administration, and I am sure that Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Sir Chunilal Mehta are all the more useful members of His Excellency the Governor's Executive Council for having been Members of the Committee of your Association.

In thanking you again therefore for your hospitality to-night I trust that the future will see a continuance of these happy relations between Government and the

Opening of the Tansa Completion Water Works at Bombay.

leaders of the industry you represent, and that we may continue to count on the same assistance and advice as we have in the past received from the Millowners Association.

OPENING OF THE TANSA COMPLETION WATER
WORKS AT BOMBAY.

13th Decem- The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech, which
ber 1927. was read by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, owing
to the indisposition of the Viceroy, at the opening of the Tansa
Completion Water Works at Bombay on the 13th December :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen.—The first public function in which I had the privilege to take part on my arrival in India last year was to receive an address of welcome from the Municipal Corporation of this city. I said then that I hoped at no distant date to make myself acquainted at first hand with some of the problems with which the Corporation was grappling and see the improvements which they were carrying out. Your kindness has enabled me to realise this hope and to have the privilege of taking part in the final stage of the great scheme we are inaugurating to-day. I must thank you, Mr. President, and all the members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, for inviting me to perform this ceremony, on which I shall always look back with interest and pleasure. The history of this scheme and of its predecessors which you, Mr. President, have just given us, is proof of the vital necessity of an increased water supply to Bombay. In a modern city like this we are apt sometimes to take as a matter of course the great public services of water-supply, lighting, conservancy, and other conveniences which mean so much to our daily health and comfort, and to forget the care and thought which were devoted by men of foresight and technical skill to the inception, the construction and the maintenance of public works of this character. But I know that every resident

Banquet to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan at Bombay.

of this Municipality will agree with me when I say that they owe the Corporation a real debt of gratitude for having undertaken and carried through this important scheme.

In the construction of these works the Corporation are the first to acknowledge the great assistance given to them by the Government, especially in connection with the building of the Kasheli Bridge. The original promise of 5 lakhs made by Government was, as time went on, found to be quite inadequate for this vital part of the scheme, and finally their contribution was raised to about 14 lakhs of rupees. The work from beginning to end, I believe, cost nearly 5 crores, and I think that this must be perhaps the biggest work of its kind ever undertaken in India by any body other than Government. I am told that the complete system of pipe lines embody a mass of material greater than that employed in any other water works in the world, not even excepting America. Whether that home of giant enterprises would admit this claim, I cannot say, but I state it as evidence of the spacious and farsighted ideas which actuate your Corporation in their schemes for the development of the city and the welfare of its inhabitants. I will now ask your permission to declare open the Tansa Completion Works, and in doing so wish them all success.

**BANQUET TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF
AFGHANISTAN AT BOMBAY.**

Owing to His Excellency the Viceroy's indisposition, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay read out the speech which the Viceroy intended to deliver at the Banquet given in honour of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan at Bombay on the 14th December.

14th Decem
ber 1927.

The following is His Excellency the Governor's speech :—

Your Majesty.—I have to express to you, Your Majesty, on behalf of His Excellency the Viceroy and

Banquet to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan at Bombay.

Governor-General of India, His Excellency's sincere and deep regret that severe indisposition has prevented him from being present in person to greet Your Majesty on your official arrival in Bombay and has been the unfortunate cause of his absence from this Banquet to-night. His Excellency has asked me to express, in his own words, the welcome which he offers to Your Majesty on behalf of India :—

We have to-day played our part in the making of history. For to-day it has been our privilege to welcome His Majesty King Amanulla on the opening stage of that great journey to foreign countries across the seas which, first of the Rulers of Afghanistan, he has set before himself. Warm is the welcome which India tenders to her Royal neighbour—a welcome prompted by feelings of friendship towards his kingdom and by admiration for its Ruler, who within so short a span of years has done so much to develop and invigorate his country. I envy His Majesty the enjoyment of the panorama of country after country that will unfold itself before him, and his interchange of ideas with the Rulers and statesmen of many nations. But the road in front of him is a long one. Nothing but a high sense of patriotism could have inspired the resolve to sustain its hardship and fatigues. And, if India has been enabled to contribute to the comfort of His Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen on the first stage of this memorable journey, India will account it her good fortune. His Majesty on leaving these shores will carry with him India's good-will. May he carry with him also pleasant recollections of his short sojourn amongst us. And now I bid you join with me in drinking to the health of His Majesty King Amanulla, King of Afghanistan, wishing him a pleasant stay in our midst, a fair and prosperous journey across the seas and beyond, and a safe return in fulness of time to Afghanistan, long to rule to the enduring benefit of his people.

BANQUET AT REWA.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Rewa on the 9th January :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must thank 9th January
Your Highness very warmly for the cordial welcome you 1928.
have just offered to Lady Irwin and myself, and I can assure you that both my medical adviser and I have listened with gratitude and interest to the reference Your Highness was good enough to make to the indisposition which at one time threatened to forbid my visit. It is my privilege also to acknowledge the sentiments of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor to which Your Highness has given expression. It has also given me great pleasure to be assured by Your Highness of the friendly assistance which you have always received from those officers of Government who have been associated with your State.

We have just listened to a most interesting speech. I always welcome surveys, such as Your Highness has given us, of the administrative history of Indian States, for they lend an added meaning to much that I see and hear during my visits and give me, as Your Highness has said, an insight into the aspirations and difficulties of the Ruler himself. I know well that Your Highness' task, as Ruler of Rewa, is no light one. The vast area of the State, the backwardness of many portions of it, and the comparatively small revenue available are factors in a problem which is by no means easy of solution. One great difficulty is, I know, the mistrust, shared by many of your people, of many of those new elements in modern life which may mean the gradual disappearance of old customs in a State, the disturbance of the placid contentment of its people, the loss of isolation and aloofness from the outer world. It is seldom that any one views without regret the passing of the old order of things, and I know that Your Highness has sometimes to take a difficult choice between respect for ancestral ways

Banquet at Rewa.

of life and the relentless logic of modern progress. But you have, I believe, marked out for yourself the course of obvious wisdom, to welcome and encourage the forward movement in your State, and to lead it circumspectly along lines suited to its environment. In approaching your task you have youth, intelligence and physical energy on your side, and I think that we have every ground for hope that your reign will be a most memorable one in the annals of Rewa, and that you will guide the fortunes of your State successfully through the difficulties which must always be associated with a period of awakening and development.

I am well aware of the personal interest Your Highness takes in the administration of your State and of the example you set by hard work and simple living, and I know that, if I offer Your Highness advice on one or two aspects of your duties as Ruler, you will appreciate that it is given with the sole purpose of assisting you to achieve the objects which you have already set before yourself. In particular I wish to stress the importance of maintaining the efficiency of the public services in your State—whether administrative or judicial. Over-centralisation in any sphere of public life seldom stands the test of time, and perhaps the most solid framework a State can have is a well-qualified and well-paid *personnel* in its public services, fit to be given a full measure of responsibility themselves, and who may be trusted to give their orders, their decisions or their advice without fear or favour, and with a single eye to justice and fair-play. It is not always easy to find this material ready to your hand, and I believe that hitherto, owing perhaps in part to the lack of educational facilities, the local supply of competent officials in Rewa has been insufficient to meet the demands of your public service. From this point of view alone Your Highness will realise the importance of encouraging education of the right sort within

Banquet at Rewa.

your territories. Some time, I know, must elapse before educational facilities in Rewa can reach the standard already attained in most other parts of India, but I feel sure that much in the meantime might be done to stimulate educational progress among your subjects and to associate them more closely with the higher branches of the administration by selecting some of the most promising of them for education and training in British India. Most countries have learnt by experience the value of a generous system of State scholarships, and I think it possible that Your Highness would find any expenditure in this direction well repaid by the results.

Your Highness has spoken to-night of the possible development of the mineral resources of your State. I am in full sympathy with this desire and I can assure you that, if expert advice is required, the Government of India will be prepared to help in every possible way. At the same time we have to guard against the delusion that mineral wealth has only to be tapped to bring prosperity and improvement to the whole country side, and I know that Your Highness will not put too great a trust in the prospect of sudden and easy enrichment. More important, more permanent, and in this sense I might say a better investment, than development of material resources is the development of your human resources, and I have no doubt that Your Highness is alive to the necessity of pursuing a policy which will lead to the progress and contentment of your people as a whole. Your State, like the great majority of India, is so largely dependents upon agriculture that a sound agricultural policy will probably be of more benefit than anything else to the people, and in a sound agricultural policy I include the improvement of cattle, an object which must carry a very special appeal to the heart of every Hindu Ruler.

I can assure Your Highness that the Government of India sympathise with your anxiety for the development

Banquet at Jodhpur.

of railway communications in your State, and it was a matter for regret that it was not possible to find a suitable route for the Central India Coalfields railway within Your Highness' territory. As Your Highness knows, new alignments have now been proposed from Katni to Sangrowli through the coalfields and from Maihar to Manganj through Rewa, and an estimate has been made of the cost of engineering surveys of these lines. Before incurring this expenditure, however, the Railway Board have decided that it is necessary to make an investigation into the traffic prospects of these lines, in order to see what return would be likely on the cost of constructing them. The result of this enquiry is still awaited.

Before I conclude I must pay a tribute to the measure of achievement which has already been accomplished by Your Highness, particularly the improvement of communications, the land revenue settlement, the reorganisation of the Police and Medical Departments and the building up of a reserve fund. If this rate of progress is continued, Your Highness will be able, at the end of the long reign which we all hope and believe to lie before you, to look back on a truly remarkable career of usefulness and service to India and to the people committed to your charge.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to rise to drink to the health of our host His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

BANQUET AT JODHPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the State Banquet at Jodhpur on the 24th January :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I thank Your Highness warmly for the cordial

Banquet at Jodhpur.

welcome you have extended to us, and for all the care and forethought which has been taken to make our stay in Jodhpur so happy and enjoyable. Especially do I welcome the opportunity which this visit affords of gaining a more intimate acquaintance with the Princes and peoples of Rajputana and of seeing for myself a country so famous in history and so charming in its scenery. I doubt whether in any part of this great continent the contrast between the past and the present creates a more vivid impression upon the mind. Here in Jodhpur the rose-red fort stands, a romantic and picturesque sentinel over the plains of Marwar. Its massive architecture reflects the stubborn spirit of its builders, and every stone speaks of the brave deeds of Your Highness' ancestors in the wars which fill so many pages in the history of this country-side. Below it the eye travels over the town of which it was once the protector, but which has now spread far beyond the circle of its guardian walls and whose railway, electric power house, schools and hospitals are visible signs of a modern progressive administration.

Over a century has passed since Your Highness' ancestor first entered into treaty relations with the British Government, and in the years that have elapsed, as Your Highness has reminded me, the Jodhpur house has maintained its reputation for unswerving loyalty to the Crown. I prize most highly Your Highness' renewed assurance of fidelity to the traditions of your house. Practical expression was given to these traditions in the great war by the assistance rendered by the fine regiment of Lancers which I had the pleasure of reviewing to-day. Of the honourable distinction then gained by it Your Highness has good reason to be proud, and I have no doubt that, should occasion ever arise, the battalion of Infantry which Your Highness has lately raised under your personal supervision would give an equally good account of itself.

Banquet at Jodhpur.

The name of Sir Pertab Singh who took the Jodhpur Lancers first to France and then to Palestine is a household word throughout the British Empire, and it is not necessary for me here to recall the services he rendered to the Jodhpur State, or his lifelong devotion to the British Crown.

Your Highness has refrained from any attempt to survey the administration during the four years which have elapsed since you were invested with ruling powers, but happily the veil, which your modesty has drawn over your achievements, has been lifted for me, and I have learnt with pleasure that these four years have been marked by commendable activity in all branches of the administration. Many new primary schools and an excellent High School have been added to the educational institutions of the State. I much regret that time would not allow of my paying a personal visit to the latter and to the Rajput school at Chopasni which has done and is doing such notable work for the education of Rajputs. Considerable progress has also been made with the construction of a new Hospital which, when finished, will, I understand, challenge comparison with any institution of its kind in India. At the same time, by spending large sums on extensions and improvements to the State railway, Your Highness has shown that you recognise what a valuable asset good railway communications are, both in facilitating the work of administration and in promoting the social and economic development of the State. Not only has it been unnecessary to finance these projects by raising a loan but, despite this considerable expenditure, the invested funds of the State have actually been increased. I congratulate Your Highness on this record of progress and on the careful administration which has maintained your State in such a sound financial position.

Banquet at Jodhpur.

I sympathise with Your Highness' anxiety lest your railway system which has been built up with such foresight and energy should be adversely affected by the construction of a broad-gauge connection between Karachi and Agra. This important scheme is now again to be examined. Much will of course depend on the alignment eventually selected. Should the project materialise, Your Highness may rest assured that every endeavour will be made to reconcile conflicting interests and to evolve a scheme which will provide the facilities demanded by a growing port like Karachi without neglecting the rights of existing railway systems.

Your Highness' reference to the agricultural conditions in Marwar touches a subject in which I am deeply interested. I have learnt with great satisfaction of the energetic measures which are being taken for the improvement of the methods of agriculture in Marwar, and I was much impressed by the show of horses and cattle, especially of the famous Nagore breed, which I saw on Monday afternoon. In a country which by its nature is pastoral rather than arable, experiment and research with the object of developing the best breeds of sheep and cattle will, I feel convinced, well repay the trouble and money expended on them.

I trust that the labours of the Royal Commission on Agriculture will result in the introduction of more scientific methods in an industry which is the central economic factor of life in India and the importance of which Your Highness has recognised in your philanthropic proposal to endow a chair of agriculture at the Benares Hindu University and scholarships for the study of veterinary and agricultural science. I accept with the warmest pleasure Your Highness' suggestion that the chair and scholarships should be endowed in my name.

Banquet at Jodhpur.

Your Highness has referred to the geographical and economic links which bind together British India and the Indian States and to the reactions which constitutional advance in British India may have on the position of the States. Your Highness is aware that a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler is now enquiring into certain aspects of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States, and I hope and believe that this enquiry will provide us with a sound basis on which we shall be able in due time to build. In the meantime I will only say that I believe with Your Highness that, if there be on both sides good-will and a common desire to find for the various problems a solution which will conduce to mutual prosperity and progress, we can face without anxiety whatever the future may have in store.

I feel that I cannot let this occasion pass without making reference to Your Highness' generous support of the Army in India Polo Team in their endeavour to retrieve the International Polo Cup from America. But for Your Highness' loan of some of your finest polo ponies, apart from your financial assistance, it would have been difficult to send a team to America at all. Though they did not meet with the success we had hoped for, we all admire the gallantry of their effort against opponents who, on the play, would appear to have been invincible.

I desire in conclusion to express my gratitude to Your Highness for your appreciation of my endeavour as Viceroy to gain an intimate personal acquaintance with the Ruling Princes of India and their States, their problems and aspirations.

In the short time I have been in Jodhpur I have seen ample evidence that Your Highness' solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of your subjects has already won for you an assured place in their affection and esteem.

Banquet at Udaipur.

This should be alike the pride and the reward of every ruler who has the interests of his State at heart. With the rapid spread of education the problems which the Princes of India have to solve are daily becoming more complex, criticism of their administration more and more insistent, and the highest standard of government more generally demanded by public opinion. It is wise to recognise and not to ignore the forces which are at work, and to realise that a Prince who neglects to discharge with humanity and justice the sacred trust which he has inherited is not only sacrificing the interests of his subjects and his State, but is weakening the position of the Order, to which he has the honour to belong, and is failing in his duty of co-operation for the moral and material advancement of India as a whole.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to rise to drink to the health of our host His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

BANQUET AT UDAIPUR.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Udaipur on the 27th January :—

27th January 1928.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to offer my cordial thanks to Your Highness on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the kind terms in which you have proposed our health, and to my fellow guests for the way in which they have honoured it.

Udaipur and the Mewar State are places of which one may truly say that "their fame has gone out into all lands". Nobody who has heard of India has not heard also of the picturesqueness of Your Highness' State and the beauty of your capital, or of the fame of its Ruling House in the annals of Indian history. Nobody who visits India would think his visit complete were he not to see for himself this home of ancient Rajput chivalry.

Banquet at Udaipur.

It was therefore with peculiar pleasure that I received Your Highness' invitation, because it gave me an opportunity not only of seeing for myself this famous city, but also of drawing closer my personal relations with a Ruler who is held in deep respect by the Princes and peoples of Rajputana. It was a further pleasure to me that, as Your Highness has said, my visit should coincide with a year of excellent monsoon which has ensured plenty and contentment for the ensuing season.

In these last two days the charm of Udaipur has indeed cast its spell upon us. In surroundings such as these, pictures of its ancient glories, stories of its old struggles and triumphs come up easily before the mind, and we look forward with keen anticipation to seeing the scene of some of its most famous exploits when we visit Chitor on Sunday. The story of Chitor and of Your Highness' House covers many pages of Rajput History, and great must be your pride to reflect that, after the vicissitudes of 12 centuries, the fortress still remains in the hands of a direct descendant of Bapa Rawal. Your Highness' lot has fallen in less warlike times, but that the old Sisodia spirit is still undimmed is clear from the unabated zest shown by the sportsman of nearly four score years who is still able to endure the rigours of an Indian Summer day with the youngest of his staff and to bring down his tiger at the end of it.

Your Highness has alluded to the friendship of Maharana Sarup Singhji. We shall never forget the steadfast loyalty of Your Highness' great predecessor at that critical time, perhaps the most critical which the British power in India has ever had to face, and I rejoice to think that the cordial relations then subsisting between my countrymen and Mewar continue firm to this day.

Let me step, Your Highness, for a moment from the past to the present. Changes are taking place in the

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

India of to-day, so rapid and momentous as to demand most careful vigilance and statesmanship on the part of all who are responsible for the administration of any portion of this great continent. I feel confident that Your Highness, while preserving all that is best in the old, will with the well-known loyalty of your house do all that is in your power to assist in the solution of the many difficult problems that loom on the horizon.

I will not detain Your Highness longer except to thank you cordially for your princely hospitality and to give you an assurance of our deep appreciation of your kindness. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking the health of our most distinguished host, His Highness Maharana Sir Fateh Singhji Bahadur of Udaipur.

ADDRESS TO THE COMBINED LEGISLATURES.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Houses of Legislature on the 2nd February 1928 as follows :— 2nd February
1928.

Gentlemen,—With the exception of one topic to which I will return later in my speech, I do not propose to-day to deal with all the various important subjects which are likely to come before you for consideration this session. But there are one or two matters to which I think it is proper that I should make brief reference.

Our relations with Foreign States along our great land frontier, from Persia in the west to Siam in the east, continue, I rejoice to say, very cordial in character. India has been honoured by a public visit from His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on his way to Europe, and the warmth of his welcome by Government and people alike was evidence of the links of friendship and common interest that bind the two countries together. It was a matter of much disappointment to me that indisposition debarred me from active participation in the

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

welcome to His Majesty. My disappointment was no less great that indisposition should have robbed me of the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of that sagacious statesman His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal, now in Calcutta on a visit which only the state of his health precluded from being a public visit and which I trust will soon lead to a complete restoration of his normal vigour.

I pass from the subject of India's external relations with her territorial neighbours to mention recent events affecting the position of Indians overseas. Hon'ble Members will have observed with great satisfaction the cordial spirit in which the appointment of the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, as our Agent in South Africa, has been from the first received both by the Union Government and by the various sections of the public, both European and Indian, in that country. Since his arrival our Agent has performed invaluable work in consolidating the friendly relations between the two countries, in stimulating among the Indian settlers the desire for self-help, and in promoting between Europeans and Indians in South Africa a clearer perception of mutual obligations. He has realised the highest expectations of those who, appreciating his capacity and gifts, expected most from him, and there is therefore every reason to hope that questions which are still outstanding or may arise in the future will be harmoniously adjusted.

Indians in East Africa have also recently claimed the special attention of my Government and of Hon'ble Members. Acting on a suggestion of a representative deputation of the Legislature which waited on me in Simla last September, my Government have recently sent Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. Ewbank to assist the Indian communities concerned in connection with the Commission, which has been deputed by His Majesty's

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

Government to examine locally certain aspects of future policy. Our representatives have already made a rapid tour of the territories in which Indian interests are important, and are now working there in close relations with the accredited leaders of Indian opinion. Hon'ble Members may feel confident that any case which the Indian settlers may desire to advance will be effectively presented, and can count upon careful consideration at the hands of the Commission.

I now turn to the major political question which it is necessary that I should ask you to examine in greater detail. Since I last addressed the Legislature, His Majesty's Government have, as Hon'ble Members are aware, taken certain decisions in connection with the Statutory Commission, which are of vital concern to India. Circumstances made it impossible for me to announce these decisions to the Legislature, as I should naturally have wished to do, and I therefore avail myself of this, the earliest convenient occasion, to make some observations in regard to them.

I need not recapitulate what I said in my statement of November 8th. That statement gave at length the reasons which had promoted His Majesty's Government to accelerate the date of the enquiry and to appoint a Parliamentary Commission. It outlined the proposed procedure at the various stages, and indicated broadly the lines on which His Majesty's Government hope to unite the best efforts of the chosen representatives of India and Great Britain in the wise ordering of India's future. Within the general framework as there described, the Prime Minister made it plain in the course of the Parliamentary Debates that it was the considered intention of His Majesty's Government to leave to the Commission itself full discretion as to the methods by which they should approach their task. The Commission

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

arrives in India to-morrow, not as yet on its more formal mission, but with the hardly less important object of enabling its members to acquaint themselves with the general working of the legislative and administrative machines, and hold informal consultations for the purpose of determining the most appropriate means of discharging the responsibility which Parliament has laid upon them. Considerable difference of opinion has become apparent as to the way in which India should receive these decisions of His Majesty's Government and of Parliament. On the one hand, those who speak for important sections of Indian political thought have been loud in their criticism and condemnation of the scheme approved by Parliament. On the other hand, many thoughtful and distinguished Indians, as well as large and powerful communities, have declared themselves in favour both of the Commission's constitution and of the general procedure that has been devised, and have expressed their readiness to give it all the assistance that they can.

I do not propose to enter far into the lists of controversy, but there are two points to which I think it right to refer. It has been freely said that His Majesty's Government have done Indians a real injustice, in denying to them adequate means by which Indian opinion may influence and affect these proceedings. Such charges as these arise in part from the genuine failure of some critics to appreciate features of the scheme which I thought had been sufficiently plainly stated. It has, for instance, been assumed that representatives of India would not confer with the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London, until after Parliament had reached main decisions of principle upon the second reading of a Bill. That this is not the case is clear from my statement of 8th November, in which I said that it was not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

any proposals which, as a result of the Commission's report, might be put forward, without first giving an opportunity for Indian opinion by personal contact to exert its full weight in shaping the view of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in regard to them. I was careful to point out that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals, and that therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open.

Apart from such misapprehensions, I am free to admit that the question of whether or not better means could have been devised for associating Indian opinion with the enquiry which Parliament is bound to undertake is one on which every man is entitled to hold his own view. But though Indian leaders have the right, if they wish, to say that His Majesty's Government have chosen the wrong method of such association, they are not at liberty, if they desire to retain the character of true counsellors of the people or of honest controversialists, to say that His Majesty's Government have not sought means—and I would add very full and very unprecedented means—of placing Indians in a position to take an ample share with them in the evolution of their country's future. I cannot help thinking, if we may attempt to look beyond the present dust and turmoil of argument, assertion and debate, that there is real danger in some quarters of mistaking shadows for reality. I doubt whether those who criticise the broad framework of the plan approved by all parties in Parliament have reflected upon what is implicit in the idea of the Select Committees of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. In the earlier stages there is the association of these Committees with the Commission, through whatever procedure the Chairman and Members of the Commission, after placing themselves fully in touch with Indian opinion, may deem best calculated to enable them to discharge the duty entrusted to

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

them. In due time the Commission will have completed its task and the matter will pass into other hands. At this moment as the Commission moves from the stage, the Central Legislature has, if it so desires, through chosen representatives of its own perhaps the greatest and most powerful means of influencing the further current of events. It is at this juncture invited, through some of its number, to sit with Parliament itself, acting in its turn through its own Joint Select Committee. Let us picture to ourselves the Joint Select Committee of Parliament and the Select Committee of this Legislature, sitting together in one of the Committee rooms of Westminster to consider the proposals of His Majesty's Government. These proposals will deal with a vast problem on which Parliament indeed has to decide, but where it is no more to the interest of Great Britain than it is to that of India that the issues should be clouded by avoidable difference or disagreement, and in regard to which therefore Parliament will naturally seek to reach decisions that command as great a measure as may be of reasoned Indian political support. Is it not fair to conclude that both the Joint Parliamentary Committee charged with the function of making final recommendations to Parliament, and earlier the Commission—each being masters within very wide limits of their own procedure—will desire to go to the furthest point that they deem possible, in order to carry along with them the convinced assent of the representatives of India, with whom they will under the plan proposed be working in close and intimate relations? To suggest that in these circumstances the effect of Indian opinion, if it avails itself freely of its opportunities, will be no greater than that which might be associated with the rôle of witnesses, and will not indeed be such as to influence the course of events throughout every stage, is to advance a proposition that no political experience can support, and that I

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

should have thought no one who was versed in the process and management of public affairs would seriously maintain. Any such impression is as strangely at variance with the intentions of Parliament recorded in recent debates as it is with any such picture as I have sought to draw of the process in operation. It is surely obvious that what will be of supreme importance to India at both stages will be the quality of the men she has chosen to represent her, and it is difficult to conceive of any way in which Parliament could have given more clear indication of its desire both to give full weight to Indian opinion, and to recognise the dignity and position of the Indian Legislature. In such matters it is well to remember that constitutional forms are nothing but instruments in the hands of men, responding to the skill of the craftsman as the plain chisel in the hand of the expert sculptor. And as men are greater than the instruments they use, we gravely err if we suppose that complaint however loud of the tools, which circumstances has placed in our hands, will suffice to induce posterity to hold us guiltless, if in the result our workmanship whether through lack of will or of capacity is found wanting. Whatever men may be tempted to think at the present moment, I dare predict that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against those who sought to use their power to hinder when it was in their power to help.

The other main point to which I invite attention is the statement, which has been widely and repeatedly made, that His Majesty's Government have deliberately offered an affront to India by the exclusion of Indians from the *personnel* of the Commission. I have said enough to make it plain why I do not think it reasonable for any Indian to feel that he or his country has been slighted by the decision of His Majesty's Government. The relative merits of the various methods of associating India with this business are, as I have said, matters on which

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

opinion may legitimately be divided. But to go further and say that His Majesty's Government deliberately intended to affront Indian feeling is a very much more serious charge to make, and the first duty of those who make it is to satisfy themselves that it is well founded. Let me make it very plain that I expect Indians, as I would myself, to be sensitive of their honour. None, whether individuals or nations, can afford to be otherwise, for honour and self-respect lie at the foundation of all social life. But honour and self-respect are not enhanced by creating affronts in our imagination, where none in fact exist. For the essence of any such offence, as of rudeness in private life, lies in the intention behind the act, and no reasonable person would dream of blaming the conduct of another where the intention of discourtesy was lacking.

In the present case British statesmen of all parties have stated in terms admitting of no misconception that the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission was in no way intended as any affront to India. Time and again this assertion has been repeated, and I would ask in all sincerity by what right do leaders of Indian opinion, who are as jealous as I am of their own good faith, and would resent as sharply as I any refusal to believe their word, impugn the good faith and disbelieve the plain word of others? I would deny to no man the right to state freely and frankly his honest opinion, to condemn—if he wishes—the action of His Majesty's Government in this regard, or to say that they acted unwisely or in misapprehension of the true feeling that exists in India. That again is a matter of opinion. But what no man is entitled to say—for it is quite simply not true—is that His Majesty's Government sought to offer a deliberate affront to Indian honour and Indian pride.

I have thought it right to speak plainly on these misunderstandings because they have been widely

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

represented as the justification of some at any rate of the counsels, which urge Indians to abstain from all part or lot in the enquiry now to be set on foot. I feel at the same time a profound and growing conviction that those who would argue that such abstention will do no harm to the cause of India are dangerously deluding themselves and others. There are of course some who would wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be the tribunal in this cause, but, as I have said more than once, however much I may respect many of those who take this view, I do not pretend to be able to reconcile it with the actual situation which we to-day have to consider. I have during the time that I have been in India been careful to avoid saying anything that might magnify differences that must inevitably exist, and have never invited any man to forego principles to which he felt in conscience bound to subscribe. But let nobody suppose that he is assisting the realisation of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are. It is in no spirit of argument or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure Parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such change is wisely conceived, and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now the opportunity of making her persuasion felt, through the means of the Commission statutorily established. The Commission has been established with the assent and co-operation of all British parties. They will carry through their enquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion. But whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the enquiry will proceed, and a report will be presented to Parliament on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate. Anyone who has been able to read the full report of the debates in Parliament on the motions to appoint the Commission must have

Address to the Combined Legislatures.

been impressed by the evidence of spontaneous good-will towards India, with which the speeches of responsible spokesmen of all parties were instinct. This good-will would naturally be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament towards these questions, and I would very earnestly hope that it might not be lightly cast aside. And yet it is certain that an agitation, fostered and promoted by methods which have led to grave occurrences in the past, is bound to breed serious misgivings in the mind of the British Parliament, with whom at present lies the final decision in Indian political affairs.

What then in India or Great Britain is to be gained by a policy of boycott ? Neither I nor anyone else can predict the effect upon the Commission's report, or later upon the mind of Parliament, if many of those who claim to speak for India decide at every stage to stand wholly aloof from a task in which Parliament has solicited their assistance and collaboration. It is clearly possible for people to stand aside, and withhold their contribution, just as it will be possible for the Commission to prosecute its enquiry, and with the assistance at its disposal reach conclusions, in spite of such abstention. But at the least it would seem certain that such an attitude must interpose yet further obstacles to the discovery of that more excellent way of mutual understanding, which the best friends of India, of every race, well know to be requisite for her orderly evolution to nationhood. And, meanwhile, in order to mobilise national resentment at an alleged deliberate affront, that has never been more than the fiction of men's imaginations, appeal will have been made, under guise of vindicating national self-respect, which there has been no attempt to impair, to all the lowest and worst elements of suspicion, bitterness and hostility.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Those were wise words of one of India's most distinguished sons a few weeks ago, which repeated the lesson—taught more than once of recent years—that it is easier to arouse than to allay such forces, which too readily pass beyond the control of those who invoke their aid.

I do not know whether I am sanguine in hoping that even at this hour it may be that words of mine might induce some of those, who aspire to guide their fellow-countrymen in India, to desist from a line of action, which at the best can only lead to negative results and disappointment, and may at the worst bring consequences of which India is unhappily not without experience. But in any case I feel it to be not less incumbent upon me now to state what I believe to be the truth in this matter, than I lately judged it to be my duty to direct the attention of India to the communal antagonisms, that threatened the destruction of any attempts to build an Indian nation. The counsel I then gave was, I am glad to think, regarded as that of a well-wisher, sincerely desirous of assisting India. But the counsel of a friend must be independent of what at any particular moment some of those whom he addresses may desire to hear, and, if that which I now give is less universally certain of acceptance, it is not less dictated by my desire to dissuade India, as I verily believe, from mistaking the path at one of the cross roads of her destiny.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

H. E. the Viceroy presided over the Seventh Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 20th February and opened the Proceedings with the following Address [*N.B.*—This speech was not published.] :—

20th February 1928.

Your Highnesses,—I take great pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses to-day to the seventh session of the Narendra Mandal. It is the second over which I have had

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

the honour to preside and the first to be held in this building, where it will hereafter be permanently located. I trust that Your Highnesses will find the Chamber comfortable and convenient, and that for long years to come it will see the annual gatherings of your Order.

Fifteen months have elapsed since our last session and during the year 1927 there was no meeting of the Chamber. This was because on this occasion, in accordance with the expressed wish of Your Highnesses, it has been decided to hold the meeting in February rather than in November. I recognise advantages in the change, and I regret only that one factor may have caused inconvenience to some of Your Highnesses. For, since the Indian Legislature is also in session in February, we have been unable to place at your disposal the residential accommodation that would otherwise have been available. It may be that this has caused the falling off in attendance which I am sorry to notice this year. I trust that, when the houses which some of Your Highnesses are building in Delhi are completed, the difficulty of accommodation will be to some extent removed, and I may again be able to address a fully representative Chamber.

Death has again taken toll among our members and some who might have been with us to-day have passed away. Two of them belonged to an older generation of Rulers, now fast disappearing, and were links with a past, which though not distant in time, is already becoming historic. His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi had ruled for 37 years before his lamented death last summer. He was a loyal and steadfast friend of the British Government as was testified by the honours bestowed upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor. Remote among his jungle fastnesses he saw little of modern change, and only once attended a meeting of this Chamber. Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to join me in expressing sympathy with

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

the bereaved family. I would extend the same sympathy to the family of His late Highness the Maharaja of Karauli. Like the late Maharao Raja of Bundi, His late Highness of Karauli belonged to an old school, whose numbers are diminishing year by year, and, by those who knew him, he will long be remembered as the true type of Rajput gentleman and sportsman. I must refer also with regret to the late Raja of Jawhar who on more than one occasion attended sessions of this Chamber.

Yet another change has to be recorded in the membership of this Chamber owing to the abdication of His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur, who has been constrained by the weight of age and ill-health to give up his responsibilities as Ruler of his State. I would wish him many years of happy retirement and trust that his son who succeeds him will prove worthy of his high position.

In addressing Your Highnesses at the opening session of the Chamber 15 months ago, I referred to the special importance of the problem of the relations of the States with the Government of India, and indicated my desire to hold frank and friendly discussions on the topic with Your Highnesses' Standing Committee. The Chamber approved, and, in pursuance of your wishes and mine, conversations were held between us in Simla last summer when many aspects of this question were subjected to preliminary examination and discussion. The free interchange of views that there took place has been of value, certainly to myself, and I trust also to the Princes who took part in them. In the course of those conversations it became clear to me that, if and when larger proposals involving wide changes in the present relationship between British India and the States fell to be actively considered, it would be of real importance that many matters of immediate relevance should have been previously examined.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Many of Your Highnesses expressed doubts regarding some aspects of your legal position *vis-à-vis* the Government of India and the Crown, and it seemed proper that steps should be taken by which these doubts might be resolved. It also appeared desirable to explore possible means of removing the uncertainty which many felt regarding a number of economic and financial questions where the interests of both British India and the States were evidently concerned. Upon my recommendation therefore, in which I think I was acting in accordance with Your Highnesses' desires, a small expert Committee has been appointed by His Majesty's Secretary of State to examine these questions, and, as Your Highnesses are aware, it assembled here last month and is now in the midst of its labours. I am happy to believe that its *personnel* has been generally approved by, and will command the confidence of, Your Highnesses.

The terms of reference to the Committee are known to you, and on all points lying within them it is of course open to Your Highnesses to express your views as fully and comprehensively as you may desire. I have become aware of some anxiety on the part of Your Highnesses lest the Committee's time in India may be too short to enable your representations to be properly prepared or to be adequately considered. I can assure Your Highnesses that I no less than yourselves desire that ample opportunity should be given for a full appreciation of your position on all relevant issues. In this I think you can safely rely on the sound sense and sympathy of the Committee itself, and Your Highnesses may rest assured that the Members of that Committee will share my desire that means may be devised which will permit you to place them in full possession of your views.

I do not wish, and it would be improper for me, to attempt any forecast of what the findings of the Com-

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

mittee may be. But Your Highnesses will agree that its appointment is a landmark in the history of our relations. Changing conditions bring changing needs, and, if we are to move forward with wisdom and foresight, we should start with full and mutual appreciation of the various factors in a very complex problem. I accordingly appeal to all Your Highnesses to give close and earnest thought to these subjects, and to present your reasoned opinions to the Committee without reserve, for the happy and successful issue of this enquiry will depend in large measure on the thoughtful co-operation and good-will of the Princes' Order.

I have spoken more than once recently of the great importance at this juncture of Your Highnesses being able to meet any criticism that may be brought against the quality of your various administrations, and I make no apology for emphasising this once more. At a time when constitutional changes are under consideration in British India, it is inevitable that much attention should be directed, both in the press and on the public platform, to conditions in the States. However ill-judged may sometimes be their conclusions and however unjust their criticism, there is underlying truth in the contention that the progress of all India must depend in some measure on the advance made in the States. The form of government may be of less importance than the spirit that inspires it and many States, as I gratefully acknowledge, have shown that they appreciate the modern ideals of good administration and strive within the resources at their disposal to attain to them. But there are others where it is not so, and where the reproach that the Ruler employs his revenues largely or even primarily for personal pleasures is not entirely without foundation. Such cases are harmful to the States in these days of publicity far beyond their immediate circle, and the Princes who are responsible for misgovernment or

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

scandal, besides failing to discharge their duty to their subjects, do grave disservice to their Order.

Since I last met Your Highnesses I have been privileged to travel widely among your States, to see the working of your administrations, and to view the mighty strongholds of your famous ancestors. My experience has enabled me to feel more keenly even than before the atmosphere of romance and chivalry in which your Houses were founded, and to realise the strenuous endeavour, high courage and selfless devotion that have marked so many pages in your histories. I can now appreciate better their importance in the record of India and can understand the old Indian ideal of Kingship exercised in consultation with loyal nobles and a contented people. Your Highnesses have great traditions and are the inheritors of fine and noble qualities. You have been trained to rule and should possess the vital forces that inspired your fighting forefathers. The days of internal strife are happily over and the energy, courage and foresight that gave your ancestors victory on many a hard-won field can now be diverted to promote the peaceful progress and development of your States and people. It is for Your Highnesses in these critical days to maintain and enhance the name of your ancient and honourable dynasties, and to show that the Prince may be in the fullest sense the servant of his people and the wise custodian of their best interests. In all measures to these ends you may count upon me for advice and assistance whenever you may seek them.

Since our last meeting, India has been blessed by a good and plentiful monsoon, and most States have shared in the general prosperity. Floods in Gujerat and Kathiawar have however caused severe losses in some of the States of Western India. They serve to remind us how precarious are the conditions of agriculture, and how necessary it is to adopt all possible measures for the welfare and

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

prosperity of the agriculturist. We may soon expect the report of the Royal Commission on this most vital subject, and I trust that Your Highnesses will give its recommendations your earnest attention. Both in fighting against difficulties and in securing the spread of improved methods, success will be more certain if the States co-operate wholeheartedly with the neighbouring Provinces in British India.

This leads me to a further matter on which I would ask your help. The Government of India have appointed a Committee to examine the desirability of developing the road system of India, and the means by which such development can be most suitably promoted and financed. After the Committee have submitted their report, it may be found desirable to invite the co-operation of the States in any scheme of through road communications which may be recommended. With the development of motor transport the value of a good road system for the convenience of passengers and marketing of produce has enormously increased and any sound scheme will, I am certain, command the enlightened support of Your Highnesses.

It will be in Your Highnesses' recollection that, at the session held in November 1926, I announced the intention of the Government of India to convene a Conference in order to discuss the various aspects of the opium problem in so far as it affected Indian States. I then appealed for the co-operation of Durbars in our endeavours to solve this problem of world-wide significance. A Conference was accordingly held at Simla in May last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Das. The discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of the frankest mutual understanding and the results were decidedly encouraging. It was agreed that the whole subject should be fully investigated, and it was recommended that a Committee on which the Durbars concerned were duly represented should be appointed for

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

the purpose. It was proposed that this Committee should visit the States that were interested and should enquire thoroughly into local conditions. The recommendations of the Conference were accepted by the Government of India, and the Committee is now engaged in its investigations. I have every hope that by this means we shall succeed in arriving at conclusions which will be found acceptable to all parties concerned.

A further question which has a bearing on international relations is that of the Slavery Convention, which the Government of India have undertaken to bring to the notice of the States. Slavery in the ordinary sense is not now practised in any State, but, in dealing with all customs involving forced labour, I trust that Your Highnesses will do your utmost, both by educating public opinion and by your own action, to prove that you are in sympathy with the ideals underlying the Convention.

At the session held in November 1924, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar moved a Resolution recommending the exemption of all Members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right from the payment of customs duties on articles imported for their personal use, a privilege now enjoyed by Ruling Princes whose dynastic salute is not less than 19 guns. This Resolution was carried, and at the time my predecessor said that the matter must form the subject of further examination before the Government of India could accept the views thus put forward. He however undertook that it would receive the most careful consideration. The Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India have given full weight to the importance which Your Highnesses attach to the matter, but the conclusion at which they have arrived is that the matter is not one that can be considered apart from the general question of the fiscal relations between the Govern-

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

ment of India and the Durbars, which is one of the questions under investigation by the Indian States Committee.

I would refer again to the important problem of the future of the Chiefs' Colleges. My Government has now formulated proposals which are being considered by the Governing Bodies of the Colleges concerned. Their views will be carefully examined before decisions are finally reached, and I would urge Your Highnesses to give early and earnest attention to our scheme. The proposals are tentative only and subject of course to modification in the light of your criticisms, but it is in the evident interests of all the Colleges that an early settlement should be reached ; since, while doubt and uncertainty exist, it is difficult to recruit the right type of Masters on which the success of these institutions must inevitably depend.

Your Highnesses, as I hope, will agree that the programme before you at this session contains a variety of important items and gives promise of interesting and useful debates. Although there has been only one meeting of the Standing Committee, it has been able to carry some of its discussions to successful conclusions and three of the Summaries, which have been under examination for some time, are now ready for presentation to the Chamber.

One relating to the employment of Europeans and aliens in the States has behind it the unanimous opinion of those who attended the Standing Committee and may be expected to receive Your Highnesses' approval. A similar unanimity supports that relating to the question of the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation and navigation purposes. The remaining Summary on the difficult question of the construction of tramways in the States is supported by a majority vote only on certain points of considerable practical importance. Its ventilation in the

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Chamber will enable those Princes, who have personal experience of and are directly interested in the question, to express their views before recommendations are made by Your Highnesses.

Other items of your Agenda contain proposals involving modifications in the existing Rules of Business. Your Highnesses will realise that such changes should not be lightly undertaken, and I shall listen to their discussion with interest. I would only say at this stage that any measures tending to add to the interest of the discussions in the Chamber are assured of my sympathetic consideration.

I notice one item at least which should not fail in this characteristic, the Resolution to be moved by His Highness of Alwar on the education and training of minor Princes. It is a question of the greatest moment on which widely divergent views are held by people of great intelligence and long experience. It is therefore eminently appropriate for full and exhaustive discussion by Your Highnesses, and I look forward to receiving from the debate much that will be of value to me in dealing with this very difficult problem.

For the second time His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has been a representative of India at the League of Nations, and we are to have the privilege of listening to his report on his activities at its annual Assembly. I am happy to hear from other sources that he has confirmed and heightened the favourable impression made on the last occasion. The readiness with which His Highness, like others of your Order, who have attended the League, has lent his time and labours to its deliberations is gratifying evidence that the Princes of India are willing, whenever occasion requires them, to subordinate personal convenience to promoting the best interests of India and the Empire.

Unveiling of the Marquis of Reading's Portrait in the Council Chamber, New Delhi.

It will also fall to Your Highnesses to elect the Chancellor and the Standing Committee of the Chamber for the ensuing year, bearing in mind that the retiring office-holders are eligible for re-election. Your Highnesses will doubtless wish to express your appreciation of the energy and efficiency that have marked the tenure of his high and responsible office by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. He has been a watchful custodian of your interests while displaying promptness and courtesy in the conduct of business with my Secretariat. Owing to various reasons only one formal meeting of the Standing Committee was held during the year. Your Highnesses will not however deduce from this that the members have been remiss in their duties. Collectively and individually they have on many informal occasions discussed with me matters affecting Your Highnesses, and I am deeply grateful for the advice and assistance they have given me.

I wish Your Highnesses God-speed in your deliberations, both within this Chamber and without it. The times are momentous and demand clear thinking and wise prevision from all whose hands may shape the destinies of India. You in the States and we in British India are faced by many complex and far-reaching problems, but, if we mutually deal with them in a spirit of friendly co-operation and wise statesmanship, we shall assuredly discover reasonable and successful solutions.

UNVEILING OF THE MARQUIS OF READING'S
PORTRAIT IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, NEW
DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy unveiled the Portrait of Lord Reading, presented by Raja Devaki Nandan Prasad Singh of Monghyr, in the Council Chamber at New Delhi on the morning

23rd February 1928.

Unveiling of the Marquis of Reading's Portrait in the Council Chamber, New Delhi.

of the 23rd February, and delivered the following speech on that occasion :—

Your Highnesses and Gentlemen,—We are met to-day to do honour to a man who will deservedly rank high among Indian Viceroy. Many years before he became Viceroy, men knew Lord Reading as one whose outstanding qualities of intellect and character had unaided taken him to the forefront of public life. At the Bar and in Parliament, as diplomat and as man of the world, he had displayed the versatility of his genius, and had gained that almost unique variety of experience, which enabled him in later years to master so rapidly the art of administration at the head of a great government.

As barrister Lord Reading, while still a young man, was acknowledged as the leader of his profession, and gave early proof of a tireless capacity for studying his subject, of an incisive grasp of the points at issue, of brilliance in argument, persuasiveness in advocacy. Political life brought fresh distinction to one who had already securely grounded himself on these foundations, and who was quick to learn and to feel the conditions on which depend success or failure in the Parliamentary arena. In 1913, when he became Lord Chief Justice of England, he might have felt that he had satisfied the highest ambition of his profession, and he appeared to have reached the zenith of his career.

But Lord Reading was not only and not mainly a lawyer, and, when the Great War came, he was ready and able to serve his country in other fields. The Government of the day had constant recourse to, and benefited by, his help, not only in the financial crisis that marked the outbreak of war, but in many other questions of business and administration. In particular perhaps his services in America merited the gratitude of his country. First as head of the Anglo-French Mission, and later as British Ambassador to the United States, he found natural oppor-

Unveiling of the Marquis of Reading's Portrait in the Council Chamber, New Delhi.

tunity to exercise those properties of tact and diplomacy, of business acumen and legal knowledge that were peculiarly his. At the end of 1919 he returned—as it then seemed finally—to his post as Lord Chief Justice. But within two years he was again called upon to undertake new responsibilities, and in April 1921 landed in Bombay as Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The task upon which Lord Reading with high sense of public duty now entered was formidable. In India as elsewhere the years immediately after the war were years of considerable anxiety. The reaction from a prolonged and intense strain, aggravated as it was by a wide variety of other factors, political, financial and economic, had left the country agitated and perplexed. In the confused situation thus confronting Lord Reading on his arrival, it was no easy task to distinguish between the different contributory causes, and trace a clear line of action. But to him difficulties to be overcome acted as a stimulus and inspiration. The gifts which had won him pre-eminence in earlier life were at once thrown without reserve into the discharge of his new duties. Long training in the Courts and in Parliament had accustomed him to the necessity of proceeding by way of careful and ordered thought from the ground-work of a thorough and accurate knowledge of the facts. In the political field, indeed, I doubt whether he had many equals in thinking out in advance all the reactions of a particular policy, and in being himself prepared, and preparing his officers, to meet the consequences. He was always at pains to master the case of his potential opponents, and, when once he had explored and expounded every line of attack that might be taken, there was no argument, no form of opposition, for which he was not forewarned and forearmed.

His policy was a policy founded on boundless patience. He, of all men, knew how to wait ; but to say this is not

Banquet at Dholpur.

to say all. If his patience was abused and his conciliatory efforts were not met by a conciliatory response, he knew how and when to take definite decisions.

And, when he laid down his charge, he had the satisfaction of knowing that during his five years of office much had been done to restore the stability which India sorely needed.

I do not seek to-day to do more than sketch some features of Lord Reading's career, but any such attempt would be inadequate, which failed to pay tribute to the part played by Lady Reading in her husband's public life. Most of those here to-day remember her personality ; many know under how grave a handicap of physical health she discharged her duty ; only Lord Reading could tell us how many of his triumphs might never have been won without her counsel and inspiration. She was indeed his other self, and many good causes in India have reason to think of her with gratitude and affection.

For the portrait which hangs before us, we are indebted to the generosity of Raja Devaki Nandan Prasad Singh. If a portrait is to correspond faithfully to what those who know the subject best would wish, the painter must have the eye to pierce through the features of his subject to the personality beneath, and the hand to give life to his discovery upon his canvas. In this case those who knew Lord Reading will feel that the artist has acquitted himself of his task with credit, and that he has here left to successive generations a worthy record of one who held nothing back from the ungrudging service that he gave to India.

BANQUET AT DHOLPUR.

1st March 1928. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the State Banquet at Dholpur on the 1st March :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I are indeed grateful to Your Highness for the very

Banquet at Dholpur.

cordial welcome you have given us on our first visit to Dholpur. It is a visit to which we have long looked forward, not only because I welcome every opportunity of extending my acquaintance with the Indian States, but because we were to be the guests of one whom we are glad to feel we may count, and of whom we naturally think, among our personal friends. We had also heard much of Dholpur tigers and of the luxurious, almost demoralising, conditions of their daily life, and wished to see more exactly for ourselves how far rumour had outrun reality. We therefore thank you, Your Highness, for the enjoyment and new experiences you have given us during the last four days, and I know that my fellow guests would wish me on their behalf to express their sincere thanks to Your Highness for all your hospitality.

I greatly appreciate the kindly allusions to myself which Your Highness has made this evening. I need hardly say that Your Highness is right in thinking that I shall always continue to take the closest personal interest in all that affects the Indian States, and that it is my constant desire to study at first-hand the problems which now engage the serious consideration of the members of your Order. I earnestly hope that the report of the Committee of experts, which is now examining some of these questions, will be the means of removing any doubts or uncertainties which may exist as to the legal position of the States, *vis-à-vis* the Government of India and the Crown, or as to certain economic and financial questions which concern the interests of both the States and British India. On the broad view, between the interests of the States and British India there should be no fundamental contradiction, for as Your Highness has said they are each parts of a wider whole, which is India ; and the development of India will depend, in vital degree, upon the wisdom with which both her constituent parts can be brought to active and purposeful co-operation

Banquet at Dholpur.

I shall therefore gladly welcome any arrangement which may tend to consolidate and develop mutual confidence and friendship.

I have listened with interest to the brief history which Your Highness has recounted of all the changes and improvements which have taken place in Dholpur since Your Highness was invested with ruling powers. It is a record in which Your Highness may surely take legitimate pride, and I am not deceived by your characteristic modesty in giving all the credit to your officials and advisers, though I have no doubt they have fully justified the confidence which Your Highness reposes in them. I will not refer in detail to the many forms in which Your Highness' beneficent activities have found expression. I have had the opportunity of seeing something of them for myself during my visit, and have been allowed the privilege of identifying myself personally with one or two of them, which will undoubtedly affect the comfort and prosperity of your people. Lady Irwin and I would like to thank you once more for the kindly thought which prompted you to identify the Electric Power House with our youngest son. I trust it may be an association of good omen to them both.

Though I do not however refer in detail to all that has been done in the way of extension of such matters as education, sanitation, railways and roads, electricity and irrigation, I desire for a moment to dwell on one feature of Your Highness' rule which in my view contains the root of the whole matter, to which detailed reforms are ancillary, and without which the most grandiose schemes "dwindle to a hollow shell".

I mean the spirit in which these measures are conceived. Your Highness has set before yourself and has followed a high ideal of duty which is manifest in the genuine care and interest with which you watch over the

Banquet at Dholpur.

welfare of your subjects. If this spirit animates the ruler, it will percolate through all ranks and classes in the State, and then and then only can full benefit be derived from the increased expenditure on the thousand activities which absorb the attention of a government to-day. That Your Highness is rewarded by the personal affection of your people is well known, and was indeed clearly demonstrated by the spontaneous outburst of popular rejoicing on Your Highness' return to your State after your unlucky encounter with a mad jackal last year, which necessitated a prolonged absence from your home. Your Highness knows how anxiously your many friends hoped for your recovery, and I rejoice in common with your subjects that you were spared to preside, as I trust for many years, over their destinies.

Your Highness has alluded to the happy relations which subsist between your State and the Province of British India on your borders. The breaking up of the marauding gangs of Kanjars, which had become the terror of the country-side, was a source of the greatest satisfaction to me as to Your Highness, and the co-operation between the police of British India and those of Your Highness and other States, by which alone the destruction of these robbers was made possible, is of the happiest augury for the future. I note with satisfaction and fully share Your Highness' appreciation of the good work done by Mr. Young, work which, to the malefactors whom he pursues, must seem uncomfortably energetic and resourceful.

It only remains to acknowledge Your Highness' fervent assurance of the continued loyalty and devotion of your House to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Your Highness referred this evening to the interesting fact that your House was the first in Northern India to be in friendly alliance with the British

Banquet at Patiala.

Power, and it is good to think that now, 150 years later, its old traditions of loyalty should be in the keeping of one whose friendship we know to be unswerving and sincere. I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging the services rendered by Your Highness in the wars to which you have alluded. The loyalty of Your Highness and your brother Princes burnt with a steady flame in those dark days. Younger generations are rapidly growing up to whom these happenings are now merely history. But those of us, who lived through them, may sometimes be able if we half close our eyes to recapture, from what then seems to us as yesterday, the thoughts and feelings which for four years were all our life. At such moments the sacrifice, the heroism and the loyalty, which pass before us in retrospective picture, stand out more clearly, and we are proud to know that the ties which bound us together before that great calamity have stood the firmer for the strain.

I now ask you all to join me in drinking to the health, long life and happiness of His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

BANQUET AT PATIALA.

8th March
1928.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Patiala on the 8th March :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Your Highness prefaced your speech this evening with some very kind and graceful remarks about Lady Irwin and myself, which we much appreciate, and, in thanking Your Highness for the hospitable welcome you have given us in Patiala, I would only add, on Lady Irwin's behalf as well as my own, that it always gives us the keenest pleasure to be either the guests or the hosts of the many Indian Princes whom we are glad to call our friends.

Banquet at Patiala.

I will follow Your Highness for a moment into the past of which you spoke just now. Since the early years of last century the friendship of this great Sikh State has meant much to the British power in India. It has been tested in critical times and has never wavered under the strain. The active assistance which Your Highness' ancestor, as you have just said, gave to the British on the outbreak of the Mutiny was indeed invaluable, and led the British Commissioner of that time to write that the support of Patiala at such a crisis was worth a Brigade of English troops to us. I believe that all the existing units of Your Highness' forces bear the scrolls of "Mutiny 1857" and "Delhi" on their colours. In many other fields Patiala soldiers have played their part and above all in the Great War when so many of them laid down their lives. Your Highness' own personal services in the Great War and at other times are well known to all here to-night, and I need not do more than acknowledge, in the full assurance that it comes from your heart, Your Highness' expression of unchanging loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor. I have had the privilege during my visit to review Your Highness' State forces, and I am glad to have seen the fine turn-out and bearing of your men. I can wish them nothing finer than that they should be true to the martial traditions of their race, and I know that we can always rely upon Your Highness to maintain them in a complete and soldier-like condition.

Your Highness mentioned this evening a sketch which I drew not long ago of the principles of good administration and government. I may remark that it was at the instance of His Highness himself that I put down certain ideas on this subject on paper, and it has been a source of gratification to me that so many Princes have, at His Highness' suggestion, asked for a copy of my memorandum, which, I may mention, reflected only my personal

Banquet at Patiala.

views and was not intended to apply to Indian States any more than to any other part of the world. I do not know how far it will carry conviction to those Princes who have read it, but the fact that so many should have been interested to see it is, I think, a sure proof that the Rulers of Indian States feel no uncertainty as to the obligation to ensure good administration in the territories over which they rule. My fellow-guests here to-night need not be nervous lest I should embark on a disquisition on political science, but there is a small portion of my note which I think I may be allowed to quote, as they are not my own words but those of Bacon—"Thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, than to be busie in all. Embrace, and invite Helps, and Advices, touching the Execution of thy Place : and doe not drive away such as bring thee Information, as Medlers ; but accept them in good part".

I do not think many will deny that perhaps the principal necessity for a personal Ruler is that he should be able to choose wise counsellors, and having chosen them that he should trust them and encourage them to tell the truth whether or not it is palatable. That Your Highness accepts this as a political maxim is, I think, shown by all that you have told us to-night. I had already had the advantage of reading a note in some detail on the administration of this State, and I am glad to find the evidences of Your Highness' keenness in modernising the administrative machinery and in improving every branch of the public services, especially perhaps the departments concerned with the maintenance of law and order. The re-arrangement of the system of recruitment for the public services ought, I am sure, to have valuable results, and I am particularly glad to hear of the improvements effected in the working of the Police and Judicial Departments which have shown a result in a much quicker

Banquet at Patiala.

disposal of cases and speedier justice. It is also satisfactory to know that Your Highness has under serious consideration the necessity of improving the jail accommodation in your State, and to be assured that the need for increasing it is due to the tightening of discipline and the infusion of vigour and energy among the police and judiciary rather than to any growth of lawlessness among Your Highness' people. I will not digress further into the details of the various functions of Your Highness' Government except to say that I am glad to learn that your people are showing a growing realisation of the benefits of education, as is evidenced by the many spontaneous requests they have made for more village primary schools and their readiness to contribute financially so far as their resources permit.

I had occasion only a week or two ago, in the presence of your brother Princes, to congratulate Your Highness on the way you had carried out your duties as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes during the past year, and I am glad to have this more public opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the energy and efficiency that have marked Your Highness' tenure of this high and responsible office. During the last year several intricate and important problems have arisen for discussion between the Indian States and the Government of India, and as Chancellor Your Highness has been thrown into fairly constant official contact with my advisers and myself. I am very grateful for the advice and help which I have at all times received from Your Highness, and I congratulate you heartily on your re-election for the current year by what I think I may term an overwhelming majority.

Not only in India but in the wider councils of the Empire and the Nations of the world has Your Highness represented the Order to which you belong, and at Geneva Your Highness discharged with much credit and

Opening of the Delhi, S. P. C. A. Hospital and Refuge.

distinction the onerous duties of a member of the Delegation to the League of Nations Assembly.

It only remains for me, Your Highness, to thank you again for the very pleasant time you have given us here, for the interesting things you have shown us and the sport you have provided. The field trials which we saw yesterday were an item of particular interest and amply prove the value of the Gun dog league of which Your Highness is so ardent a supporter.

We all wish you, Your Highness, a safe and pleasant journey to England this summer, and your speedy return will be eagerly awaited by a host of friends in India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking to the health, long life and happiness of our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

OPENING OF THE DELHI S. P. C. A. HOSPITAL
AND REFUGE.

31st March
1928.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Delhi S. P. C. A. Hospital and Refuge on the afternoon of the 31st March, said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has given me great pleasure to come here to-day to open this hospital and refuge erected by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Mrs. Lloyd has already made reference to the generosity of Seth Ramcower Jeiporia and of other benefactors, which has resulted in the fine building we see here to-day, and I know that all present this afternoon would wish me on their behalf to thank all those who by contributions or personal effort have helped to bring this institution to completion. There can be few individuals who, if it was put to them that they had been guilty of causing wanton cruelty to an animal, would not at once indignantly deny any such intention

Opening of the Delhi S. P. C. A. Hospital and Refuge.

on their part, or who would fail to condemn the very idea of such a thing. And yet we have learnt by experience that, until public opinion in a country is really brought to bear on this subject, and is translated into action by some such Society as we have here in Delhi, hundreds of cases will occur in every town every day, where owing to thoughtlessness, carelessness or callousness, extreme misery and hardship are suffered by our domestic animals. Public opinion on this subject is not of very old birth in any country, but India is, I think, still behind many civilised countries in this respect. And I should have expected that the ideals for which this Society works would have found ready support above all in a country like India where the sanctity of animal life is a tenet of such a large proportion of the population, and where it is therefore a matter of peculiar obligation to protect animals from all avoidable suffering.

It is at any rate our duty to endeavour to form this public opinion, and to try little by little to inculcate in the minds of everyone the idea of mercy to dumb animals and the realisation of the shamefulness of cruelty. And therefore I appeal for support to the Society which is carrying on this admirable work in Delhi and elsewhere. Help is needed from all, from officials and non-officials, from local bodies and private Associations—help in the form not only of money contributions but of active sympathy and support.

I may be permitted to make one more comment. An organisation such as this depends so much on the labour and enthusiasm of one or two devoted individuals that there is always the danger of its collapse when that individual support is removed. I should therefore have thought that some central non-official organisation would be useful, which could both help workers to feel that they were partners in a great and combined effort, and

*Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the
St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross
Society at Simla.*

would assure local Societies against the risk of decay and fall owing to the departure of an individual enthusiast. When talking of such enthusiasts I cannot refrain from mentioning one name, that of Mrs. Lloyd, whose devotion to this cause has meant—and I hope will long continue to mean—so much to the welfare of animals in Delhi and its neighbourhood.

I have now great pleasure in declaring this hospital and refuge open and in wishing it a long life of usefulness in the work in which it will play such an important part.

COMBINED ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
INDIAN COUNCIL OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS
SOCIETY AT SIMLA.

25th June
1928.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society held at Simla and addressed the assembly as follows :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It gives me great pleasure to preside once more over the joint gathering of those who are interested in these two great charitable movements, and I am gratified to see the satisfactory number of members who have come here to-day and have helped to make this meeting truly representative. In particular we are all glad to welcome Mrs. Cottle, from Bengal, whose devoted services to our two associations are well-known to you. Although this annual function represents, I fear, almost the extent of my direct personal participation in the activities of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, I need

*Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the
St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross
Society at Simla.*

hardly say that my interest in these two organisations is constant, and that I heartily welcome the opportunity of reviewing from time to time the work that they have been doing.

After reading last year's reports of the two bodies and listening to the interesting speeches this afternoon of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Major-General Symons, I feel that we may congratulate ourselves on being able to record another year of not unsatisfactory progress. At the same time the progress has I think been uneven, especially as regards the Red Cross Society. Although the Red Cross report shows a considerable increase of membership in some Provinces, it is clear that other branches still need many recruits to their ranks, if they are successfully to fight the forces which we have set it before ourselves to defeat. Those who attended the annual meeting last year may remember that I referred to some figures quoted by Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith as showing the need of extending the activities of both the institutions represented here to-day. That need is still pressing and will no doubt be pressing for many years to come, but to-day General Symons has directed our particular attention to a passage in the Red Cross report dealing with the extension of the junior Red Cross movement, and I think all will agree that some of the figures there quoted, showing the popularity of this movement in other countries, are significant. The lead I see is easily held by the United States of America where nearly six million members belong to the junior Red Cross. Our own Red Cross Society, as a peace-time organisation, is of course one of the youngest among the Societies established in the greater countries of the world, and it is natural that, in comparison with these figures from America, our own

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

efforts should seem puny ; but I feel pretty sure that, the more we can stimulate interest in the Red Cross among the rising generation, the more firmly is our Society letting down strong roots which will ensure constant and healthy growth in future.

The Boy Scout movement has already established itself in India, and the response which the youth of India have instinctively made to its appeal is proof that they are not deaf to the call of service to their fellow-men. There are surely great possibilities of valuable work to be done by the Red Cross in conjunction with the Boy Scouts, for in great part the objects of the two organisations coincide. I would hope therefore that, from its own particular angle of approach to a common end, the junior Red Cross movement may make no less strong an appeal to the present youth of India, and that, as they and our Society grow up together, they will in future years come to provide the backbone of this organisation.

It has been suggested to me, and to this matter General Symons has referred in his speech, that there is one direction in which the activities of the Red Cross could be extended, and I believe that the Central Committee have recently been devoting their attention to it. I refer to the question of organising relief in the case of national calamities. The splendid work of relief carried out by the American Red Cross after the disastrous floods caused by the Mississippi elicited the admiration of the world. More recently, in a somewhat similar calamity which befell Mexico, the Red Cross of that country was prompt to organise relief for the sufferers on a large scale. In each of these cases the Red Cross was asked by the Government to undertake the work of public relief, and by reason of its pre-existent organisation was first to take the field.

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.

Similarly at the beginning of 1926, in the devastating floods which occurred in Belgium and Holland, the Red Cross Societies of those countries, with advice and assistance from the League in Paris, administered the whole work of distributing supplies to the sufferers and of taking prophylactic measures against the outbreak of epidemics. India is not infrequently the unhappy victim of such visitations of nature, and only last year, as General Symons has reminded us, we had sad evidence in Orissa and Gujerat of the damage and suffering which nature can inflict. But one of the difficulties in the way of the Indian Red Cross in following the example of Societies in other lands is that the Society is not so much a national society as a collection of Provincial and State branches, and these branches absorb practically the whole of the Society's income. Relief in such cases therefore has necessarily to be a matter for provincial rather than national activity, and, inasmuch as the resources of the branches are more or less ear-marked for their ordinary peace-time programme, they have little or no reserve for unforeseen emergencies. The solution of these difficulties seems to me to lie in the formation of a central fund to be used on such occasions, so that the Central Committee might be able to cope with any sudden and imperative demands. India has joined the International Relief Union, which resulted from a Conference held in Geneva in July last year under the auspices of the League of Nations, with the object of furnishing assistance in the event of exceptional disasters and calamities. The creation of such an organisation, which will operate primarily through national Red Cross Societies, throws on the latter the responsibility of preparing for such work as may fall on them in pursuance of the objects of the central body and, therefore, of endeavouring to augment their own financial resources for supplementing any

*Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the
St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross
Society at Simla.*

scheme of financial assistance which the International Relief Union may launch. It is an object which I think I may safely recommend to the notice and generosity of all those who have the interest of the Red Cross at heart.

If, as General Symons has said, the Indian Red Cross Society is but a child, it goes hand in hand with an Association whose ancestry reaches far back into the mists of history. The salient features of the doings of the St. John Ambulance Association during the past year have been reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief. I know that you will all be at one with me in desiring to acknowledge the debt we owe to His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey—and I would add in no less degree to Sir Fazl-i-Husain—for the personal interest they took in ensuring the success of the ambulance competitions in Lahore this year. It was indeed a great pleasure to all that Mrs. Dent should have been able to be present on that occasion, and both the organisers and competitors are to be congratulated on the high opinion she formed of all the ambulance work which she was able to see.

The Punjab has also been prominent in the training of ambulance classes in which, as His Excellency the Chairman of the Indian Council has just said, very satisfactory progress throughout India has been made.

Before concluding I would like to thank all those, whether office-holders or members, who by their active participation or sympathetic support have helped to carry on the work of our two Associations during the past year. In many ways and from a variety of causes India is being brought into ever closer touch with other countries of the world, and thus the question of her public health must be recognised as closely bound up with that wider problem of

Address from the Vizagapatam Municipal Council.

world-health, on which the attention of all peoples is becoming more and more closely focussed. An illustration of this may be found in the visit to India during the last year both of public health experts from countries of the Far East, and of the delegates of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine. It is not difficult to foresee that the education of the Indian public in the principles of public health will grow in importance as years go on, and the value of the educative work which our two Associations are doing will be steadily extended. I hope and believe therefore that every year when we meet together, as we are meeting to-day, we shall be able to record a further expansion of membership, a widening of interest, and an increasing determination on the part of all to extend the beneficent activities of our two Societies.

ADDRESS FROM THE VIZAGAPATAM MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

In replying to the Address presented by the Vizagapatam Municipal Council on the 26th July, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

26th July
1928.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I am most grateful to you for the warmth with which you have welcomed me and I must thank you, and through you the Municipality which you represent, for the cordial address to which we have just listened. My pleasure in visiting your ancient and historic city is enhanced by the knowledge that no previous Viceroy has had that good fortune. It was a great disappointment to me last year that heavy floods prevented me from completing the tour I had arranged in this direction, and I determined that I would take the earliest possible opportunity of redeeming the failure of last summer.

Address from the Vizagapatam Municipal Council.

I can assure you that Lady Irwin shares the regret you have expressed, that absence from India has precluded her accompanying me on this occasion.

As you have said, a long history lies behind this city of Vaisakha. A new page in that history is being turned to-day by the construction of a protected deep-water harbour, for it is not difficult to foresee the benefits which must result, both for Vizagapatam and for the country lying within its range, from this great new seaport looking to the East. It has natural advantages, both in the conformation of its sea-board and its position on the long stretch of coast separating Calcutta from Madras, and you may be sure that the Government of India will watch with sympathetic interest the development of the first Indian port in whose initiation and construction they have been immediately concerned.

You have raised in your address various questions connected with the future administration of this seaport, and it is gratifying to see that your Council, on whose foresight the welfare of your citizens so largely depends, realise the responsibilities which will devolve upon them from the growth of population and of local business which may result from the opening of the new harbour. I can well understand your desire that the town of Vizagapatam should progress in importance as in amenities along with the growth in the immediate neighbourhood of new and well-equipped facilities for trade. The inclusion of the harbour area, as you suggest, within Municipal limits and its consequent assessment to Municipal taxes would, I realise, help your Council financially to take up schemes for water-supply and other Municipal services. This is primarily a matter for the Local Government to initiate, though it must of course be considered in special relation to the development of the Port itself, and it is difficult to pronounce on the merits of any such scheme, or on the

Opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti.

question of taxation or expenditure on local works such as a new beach road, without a thorough examination by those who are immediately responsible. I have no doubt, however, that both the Local Government and the Harbour Construction Authority will give the most careful thought to any representations on this subject which your Council may decide to put before them.

We have a long programme before us this morning and you will not wish me to detain you longer. I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the care which your Council have obviously bestowed on the town which lies in your charge and on the pride which you take in its natural beauties and its traditions. I wish it all prosperity for the future and shall continue to take a lively interest in the progress and development which coming years must bring.

OPENING OF THE IRWIN HOSPITAL AT AMRAOTI.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti on the 28th July :—

28th July
1928.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I confess that it was not without surprise that I heard the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao say, in the course of the speech so full of interest and suggestion to which we have just listened, that 58 years had passed since a Viceroy last visited Berar. I can only think that, if this is so, it has been the fault of Viceroys and not of the people of Berar, who I know are never slow to extend a cordial and hospitable welcome to anyone who visits their country. His Excellency the Governor indeed has told me that there were many bodies, including the prominent organisation of the Berar co-operative Institute, here which wished to offer me a formal welcome, and I am sorry that my engagements have prevented me from devoting a longer time to

Opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti.

this visit, and from availing myself of the opportunity both of receiving those addresses and of gaining more intimate personal acquaintance of Berar and its people than has been possible in the few all too short hours I have spent in Amraoti.

It has however given me the greatest pleasure to pay even this brief visit and it is an interesting coincidence that, just as a memento of Lord Mayo's visit in 1870 has been left in the Mayo Hospital at Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, so to-day the chief function arranged for my visit to the capital of Berar is to open a hospital, to which you have been good enough to give my name.

In order to appreciate rightly what is the significance of the opening of this hospital, I would ask you to reflect for a moment upon one of the fundamental facts of all human life.

The underlying unity of that life, as we see it all around us, is impaired by countless divisions, and differences, which lead men to range themselves in separate camps and under various banners, to which they give allegiance. And these differences too often take evil shape. Thus as we look across the world we see differences between employers and employed leading to grave industrial disputes, religious differences breeding religious bitterness and not infrequently loss of life, national differences hurling nations into war, and, behind all these, racial differences perpetually obstructing the way to that better understanding, upon which the future of our humankind depends.

These things fill the foreground of our picture, and distract our attention from the real struggle of man with disease that is universal, constant, pitiless, and unending.

Opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti.

The differences between men are often capable of solution ; and even war between some nations permits neutrality for others, and in time yields place to Peace. But in this fell conflict that all humanity is ever waging against disease, there is no armistice, and there is no neutrality.

And therefore I see in this work that has been done here a real contribution to human progress, and most warmly do I congratulate you upon its achievement.

The Hon'ble the Minister has reviewed in his speech the general lines of the programme of medical and public health development to which your Province has devoted itself. We may all readily agree with him that the progress achieved has been real and notable, and that you have reason to congratulate yourselves both on the farsighted policy of your Government, and on the co-operation and generosity with which the people have helped to make that policy a success. He referred in particular to the attention devoted to the health of women and children, a matter in which I believe your Province can face comparison with any other in India, and to the extension of hospital organisation under the auspices of the Countess of Dufferin Fund. The Central Committee of this Fund have recently been interesting themselves in a scheme for the increase in numbers, and for the better training, of nurses in certain Provinces, and I have no doubt that this is a sphere of public service to which women in India might worthily devote attention. The supply of fully qualified doctors in India is increasing year by year, but it is not too much to say that their work in hospitals and private practice is frequently handicapped by the lack of trained nurses to carry out the treatment they prescribe. In other spheres of women's work your Province has made a great advance, for women have been nominated to the Legislative Council and to

Opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti.

several local bodies and the question of women's education is being vigorously taken up. I feel no doubt that the Central Provinces and Berar will not be slow to support any scheme which aims at the raising of the standard and status of the nursing profession, and I know that in doing so, as in all other matters which affect the welfare of the Province, they will all be sure of the warm-hearted assistance of His Excellency the Governor and Lady Butler.

Although, as I have said, the principal function to-day is the opening of this hospital, I think—as it is only once in 60 years or so—that you will have patience if I say something about the general conditions and problems of your country.

The first subject, to which it would be difficult to make no reference in Berar, is the great cotton trade on which so large a part of the prosperity of your Province is founded. In the last three quarters of a century, since the administration of Berar was entrusted to the British Government, the cotton industry has shown a vast increase and I believe that Amraoti, corrupted by business tongues to Oomra, now gives its name on the Bombay market to more than one-half of the full total of India's cotton crop. The present generation may find it hard to realise the blessing of internal peace, which with the resultant development of communications has been the chief factor in bringing about this great change. For human memories are short and times of trouble and disturbance fade quickly into history. Yet it was for the upkeep of military forces required for the maintenance of peace in the Deccan that Berar was first assigned to the British Government. I recently learned from His Excellency the Governor the interesting fact that the buildings and lands which until about 25 years ago were occupied by the Hyderabad Contingent at Ellichpur have

Opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti.

now been handed over to the Agricultural Department for production of high class cattle, and the growth of improved varieties of cotton. There indeed has the ploughshare ousted the lance and sword.

The recently published report of the Royal Commission has focussed the public eye on Indian Agriculture and I was interested to read in that report the commendation of the system, in vogue in Berar, of regulated markets for the disposal of the cotton crop. As the Royal Commission have wisely said "well-regulated markets create in the mind of the cultivator a feeling of confidence and of receiving fair play, and this is the mood in which he is most ready to accept new ideas and to strive to improve his agricultural practice".

It was with great interest too that I learnt that your Government has been pursuing an active road policy. You on your part must have welcomed the announcement that new broad gauge railways are about to be commenced from Hiwarkhed, through Akot and Akola, to Basim, and from Amraoti to Narkhed on the Nagpur-Itarsi line. But the question of communications is far more than a local one, and your geographical position gives you a special interest in the great through routes by road and rail which necessarily traverse the Province. Recent developments have brought into existence a new Trunk route from North to South, and, with the completion of the new line passing through the territories of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, Nagpur now occupies a central position on the shortest route between Madras and Delhi. Of even more importance is the direct railway connection between Raipur and Vizagapatam, for, when the deep water harbour at the latter place has been completed, the eastern districts will have been brought 150 miles nearer to the sea.

Opening of the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti.

Trunk railway lines are an old story, but the importance of arterial road routes is only beginning to be realised. As I daresay you know, the Government of India recently appointed a Committee to examine the question of road development and the best means of providing additional funds for that object, and I believe their report is about to be submitted. One of the points which is likely to emerge is that in every Province there are roads which are of more than local importance, and, since they link up district with district, their control rests naturally with the Provincial Government rather than with the local bodies. Looking to the future, I conceive it possible that there may be other and still more important roads, the development of which as a means of connecting Province with Province will be a matter of all-India concern. Should that be so, they must be of interest to you, for the arterial roads of the future, whether they run from North to South or from East to West, can hardly avoid traversing the Central Provinces.

Before saying good-bye I must thank you again for the welcome you have given me, which indeed is only such as the warm-hearted generosity and public spirit of the Berari would be expected to extend to a guest. I leave you with the happiest recollections of my brief visit and with my best wishes for a good season and for the continued prosperity of the Province.

I will now, with your permission, proceed to the opening of the hospital that is to bear my name. It is with much gratification that I have taken part in this ceremony, which marks an important stage in the scheme of hospital construction now being carried out. I trust and believe that this hospital has before it a long life of usefulness, and is destined to be a blessing to those who may have occasion to seek succour therein.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF A HOSPITAL AT RATLAM.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech when he laid the Foundation-Stone of a Hospital at Ratlam on the 3rd August :—

3rd August
1928.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I feel that special interest attaches to my visit here to-day from the fact, to which Your Highness has alluded, that over half a century has passed since a Viceroy came to Ratlam. But there are so many Salute States eager to show their traditional hospitality and to offer a loyal welcome to His Majesty's representative, that a Viceroy has perforce to refuse many cordial and generous invitations which he would desire to accept. I wish indeed that my visit to-day could have been longer, and could have given me time to see something more of a State so famous in the history of Central India. For although the material possessions of the Ruler of Ratlam are now, through ancient misfortunes, no longer as extensive as they once were, there are to-day few names better known to the world in general than that of His Highness the Maharaja of Ratlam ; and I would like to take this public opportunity of again congratulating Your Highness on the birth of a son, heir to an ancient line, for whom I can wish nothing better than that he should follow in his father's footsteps.

Your Highness' reputation as a soldier and a fearless horseman is familiar to all, and your services to India and the Empire both in the Great War and in the Afghan War of 1919 will not readily be forgotten. It has given me the greatest pleasure, Your Highness, to accept your cordial invitation to visit your State and to lay the foundation-stone of your new hospital, and I recall with pleasant memories the occasion on which Your Highness was among those who first greeted me on my arrival in India.

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

Before laying this stone I would wish to say what gratification it gives me to know that Your Highness is taking such interest in the development of your State, and is showing so warm a solicitude for the welfare of your subjects. In the course of my visits to many States, I have been glad to observe the serious attention which is being paid to the provision of medical relief, and have been struck by the high standard of hospital buildings and equipment. I congratulate Your Highness on your decision to erect a new hospital on this well-chosen site ; and I know that you will do all in your power, by appointing an adequate and efficient staff and by taking a personal interest in its administration, to ensure its success. It will bring to Your Highness the double satisfaction of being the happy means of commemorating your mother's name and of securing health and happiness to the sick and suffering.

I will now ask Your Highness' permission to lay the foundation-stone, and in doing so I wish this new institution a long and useful life.

OPENING OF THE AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE
AT SIMLA.

1st October
1928.

In opening the Agricultural Conference held at Simla on 1st October, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—Let me wish you a cordial welcome to Simla. When the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India reached us, we undertook a rapid examination of its contents in order to decide what would be the best way of securing prompt and fruitful consideration for the Commission's proposals. It was clear from the wide ground covered by the recommendations as well as from their nature that the first necessary step was to determine the relative urgency of the main recommendations and the authority, Central or Provincial, or both

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

Provincial and Central acting in concert, by which individual recommendations were to be carried out. My Government felt that, if this task was to be completed expeditiously, we must convene a Conference at which these important matters could be discussed face to face. The active sympathy with which each Local Government had received the Commission's Report, the declarations made by various Provincial Governors and Ministers of their readiness to consider it and act upon it as expeditiously as the importance of the subject and their resources permitted, encouraged us to hope that our invitation would evoke cordial response. Your presence here to-day, gentlemen, affords gratifying proof of the correctness of our expectations. May your deliberations, which it gives me great pleasure to inaugurate, result in a united understanding and a common resolve to further the beneficent objects which the Commission's labours have helped to bring into definite form and clear perspective.

It is a pleasure to include in my welcome the principal Ministers of Patiala and Kapurthala, who, owing to their presence in Simla, have been able to attend this morning's proceedings. My Government did not officially invite Indian States to send their representatives to this Conference because we felt that the stage for seeking the co-operation of States in the task of India's agricultural advancement would be after the Governments of British India had consulted together and reached definite conclusions as to the action to be taken on the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. I avail myself, however, of this opportunity to express our appreciation of the valuable assistance which we have received from Indian States in the past in helping forward India's staple industry, and I hope that, in such new activities as may be started hereafter as the result of the deliberations of this Conference, we may, if necessary, count upon the cordial support of the Durbars.

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

Before I proceed further, gentlemen, let me endeavour to express what, I am sure, you all fully share, namely, our appreciation of the work accomplished by the Commission. The importance of agriculture to this country has often been emphasised ; it can never be exaggerated. Agriculture is the mainstay of 71 per cent. of the population of India. The practice of centuries has taught the Indian cultivator much that is of value in agriculture. But a great deal that science has brought to light in recent years is unknown to him. And the growing pressure of population on land of which the area is limited has created fresh problems for agricultural science to explore and solve. If the ryot's standard of living is to improve, the quality of his produce and the return which his toil bring him must be improved also. That was the main economic problem to which the Commission had to address themselves. But they took a wider view of their responsibilities. They applied their minds to the whole question of rural reconstruction. They recognised that the conditions of rural life have to be viewed and studied as a whole ; that there is an organic affinity between rural education, rural sanitation and rural economics ; that material prosperity will not, by itself, complete the ryot's happiness ; indeed, that such prosperity can only be achieved if education widens his horizons ; if improved sanitation makes his life healthier and longer ; if his environment is so improved as to send him with a cheerful mind, a quickened interest and a zest for work to his daily task in the field. Their enquiry, therefore, embraced the whole field of rural life. It was careful and intensive. The Commissioners sought not only to investigate all the relevant facts in India. They also tried to ascertain conditions abroad which might help them to complete their survey of the problem and present a comprehensive Report. The result, gentlemen, is a massive volume, full of useful and illuminating facts and

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

of stimulating suggestions. I use no language of exaggeration when I say that it represents the most complete and creative document affecting the welfare of the agricultural population in this country that has hitherto been published. My Government and I—and, gentlemen, I hope, I may associate in this observation the Provincial Governments whom you represent—wish to express to Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues our grateful appreciation of their sustained, sympathetic and strenuous endeavour, and our congratulations on the valuable contribution which they have made to the furtherance of a vital and beneficent activity.

Gentlemen, you have a varied and full agenda before you. I do not intend to prevent you from getting to grips with it as quickly as possible. Nor do I propose to select any one of the items on your list of business for detailed comment. I would leave that to Sir Muhammad Habibullah and to other members of the Conference whose expert knowledge fits them for the task. But I shall permit myself a few remarks on the broad unity of outlook which is the outstanding feature of the Commission's Report—a feature to which I have already referred. As the Commission point out, the problem of agricultural improvement is identical with the problem of rural reconstruction. Amelioration of the agriculturists' lot cannot be effected without co-ordinating activity in several fields of administration besides Agriculture proper, particularly in the fields of Education and Public Health. Now, gentlemen, each one of these departments of Government is now under the control of popular Ministers. Initiative to secure such co-ordination rests with them. I have no doubt that such initiative will be forthcoming. The form which it may take and the rate at which co-ordination may progress will depend on conditions and circumstances which, I recognise, vary from Province to Province. I would only ask Hon'ble Ministers to remember

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

that co-ordination offers the one magic key to success in the object which the Commission have described for us. The emphasis laid by Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues on the value of combined activity will, I hope, be appreciated at its true value and their various recommendations carried out in an endeavour to move forward together over the whole wide front which we desire to attack. Much of the work must fall directly upon Local Governments, for we recognise the existing constitutional position and have no desire to interfere in any way with their discretion. But whatever assistance by way of counsel and the supply of information the Government of India can render will be willingly and readily given.

There is however one other matter with which the Government of India is immediately concerned, and on which I should like to dwell briefly. I refer to agricultural research. The Commission have rightly placed the guidance, promotion and co-ordination of research in the forefront of their recommendations. Scientific research is the life-blood of economic progress. Knowledge of the processes of nature must be progressively improved and applied in order to stimulate her bounty. Nature must be led, not driven; and if we, by study of her ways, lead nature by the hand, she will join hands with us in placing new treasures at our disposal. If therefore we wish the land to yield to us a harvest richer in measure and quality than what she does to-day, we must call science more and more to our aid. Scientific research is largely responsible for the agricultural prosperity of Java. The same is true of all nations with a developing and progressive agriculture. In this country, the improved varieties of Pusa wheat and Coimbatore sugar-cane have added materially to the prosperity of the agriculturist in the wheat and cane-growing Provinces of India. The veterinary work done at Muktesar has saved and is saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of cattle every year.

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

I have mentioned these instances not to glorify the institutions devoted to research which the Government of India maintain, but only because they are most familiar to me. I have no doubt that in the Provinces work not less valuable has been and is being done. But, as the Commission have pointed out, in India endeavour has so far lagged behind the exigencies of the situation. More must be done if we are to cope with the demand made by a growing population and by the increasing stress of competition in the markets of the world. Both factors emphasise the need for increasing the output from land and the quality of the yield. Agricultural research offers a sphere in which the Central Government can help the Provinces, both through the existing agencies which they now control and, if the Provinces are willing to co-operate, in the manner recommended by the Commission. As you are aware, gentlemen, in Chapter III of their Report, the Commission have made proposals for setting up a Central Council for Agricultural Research. These proposals will doubtless be discussed by you, for I observe that the establishment of such a Council is the first item on your agenda. I shall not attempt to anticipate the results of your deliberations on the subject. I shall only say that my Government and I are strongly of opinion that some such organisation should be brought into being as soon as possible. India urgently wants a body which will be thoroughly representative of all-India as well as of Provincial points of view ; which will be able to ascertain and appraise, with the aid of the best scientific advice available in the country, the requirements of the different agricultural tracts ; which will be endowed with adequate funds to guide, promote and co-ordinate agricultural research throughout the country and with sufficiently elastic powers to utilise these funds as its collective judgment may suggest. The scheme drawn up by the Commission is based on principles which appear to fulfil these condi-

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

tions and will, I hope, receive **your** earnest consideration. You will have observed that the Commission's plan does not, as the constitution stands at present, contemplate any call on the Provinces for financing the proposed Council. The Government of India accept this position, and, subject to the approval of the Legislative Assembly, will endeavour to provide any central organisation that may be set up with such funds as their resources might permit. But apart from the question of finance, the whole principle of co-ordinated activity in this sphere requires to be discussed. It is for the Provinces to decide whether they will or will not accept this principle. We do not desire to impose on them any scheme built up on this principle if they do not want it. For, it is obvious that co-ordination cannot be achieved without the co-operation of the Provinces. There is one more important point which I should like to make clear. My Government and I have no intention that, if a central organisation is set up on the lines recommended by the Commission, it should in any way curtail or restrict the freedom which the Provinces now enjoy in regard to agricultural administration and policy. Indeed it is our wish that, if any such organisation materialises, it should be so devised as to enlist the interest and the willing support of the Provinces no less than of the Government of India. We seek voluntary co-operation, not an infringement of Provincial powers and rights.

I had intended, gentlemen, to touch briefly also on the part which the co-operative movement can play in enlarging the happiness and material prosperity of the countryside. Any such observations would be superfluous now after the speech which the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habibullah delivered the other day when inaugurating the Tenth Session of the All-India Co-operative Conference. I can add nothing to the sagacious and practical suggestions which he made on that occasion for broadening the

Opening of the Agricultural Conference at Simla.

scope of this movement and for infusing into it fresh energy and fresh vigour.

Gentlemen, I shall not detain you much longer. I have tried to explain to you the objects with which this Conference was called and to make a few observations on the importance of the Report and on the attitude of my Government towards the principal recommendation which concerns us as well as Local Governments. I shall be interested to learn from day to day, as your deliberations proceed, what each Province thinks of the many and varied proposals made by the Commission ; what action it proposes to take on them. We recognise, as the Commission recognised, that it is impossible in a day to give effect to recommendations so numerous and so far-reaching. Time is necessary for the mobilisation of the resources and the men, and for accelerating the momentum of public opinion, without which proposals so comprehensive in their range and effect cannot attain full fruition. But I am confident that the resolve to work for the uplift of the rural population, with which each one of you has come to this Conference, will derive inspiration and strength from meeting others who are moved by the same impulse and engaged on a similar task in different parts of this great country. May the contact, which these meetings are intended to provide, infuse new life into your efforts and lend new vigour to your purpose. No ideal could be more humane in its nature, more moving in its appeal, than the ideal of kindling in the breasts of seven-tenths of the inhabitants of this Sub-Continent the desire for a "better and a fuller life", no duty nobler or more powerful as a spur to action than the duty of working with sustained energy and steadfast faith to see your ideal realised. It is my firm conviction that the duty will be willingly and worthily discharged, as it is my earnest hope that the discussions which start to-day may help to bring the ideal nearer to fulfilment.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE LAWRENCE
ROYAL MILITARY SCHOOL AT SANAWAR.

4th October
1928.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the prize giving at the Lawrence Royal Military School at Sanawar on 4th October :—

Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When a Prize Giving coincides, as it does generally, I suppose, with a Founder's Day, it becomes a dedication, and I think it is a great privilege for any outsider to take part in it.

Now I have noticed that it has very often happened that people, who give prizes away, think it necessary to make a long speech to show that they can make speeches as well as give prizes, but I do not intend to make a speech, for two reasons. Firstly, I am sure that you have very important engagements awaiting you very soon, in the way of restoring your vitality by other means ; and also because, ever since I have been in Sanawar, I have been feeling myself in a completely family party where speeches seem to be quite out of place : therefore, if I may, I want to talk to you for a very few minutes, and tell you one or two things that have occurred to me since I have been in Sanawar.

Now I said this place is very much like a family party, and it seems to me to be a gathering of a family in a party, just as a family gathers together on any great family occasion, when it sets to work to enjoy itself, and to wish many happy returns to the person who has given them the excuse for meeting.

You have been allowing a total stranger like myself, who in spite of his official connection with the school has hitherto had only a cursory acquaintance with it, you have allowed me to take part in all the family entertainments at one time and another since I have been here. I have taken part in listening to communal singing, and thought how ill I myself have done it compared with what I heard last night. I have been introduced to seven or

Distribution of prizes at the Lawrence Royal Military School at Sanawar.

eight of the greatest scoundrels of the 18th century, assisted by a stern representative of authority, and I was glad to see they were eventually downed by the representative.

All that side of it has been to me wholly delightful and wholly the family atmosphere. Then, as I was thinking these thoughts this morning of the many happy returns to the School that Founder's Day is, you will allow me to say that I think it the greatest privilege being allowed to join in the best way of wishing Many Happy Returns to the School, in which many of us took part this morning in the great corporate Act of Consecration and Fellowship, in your beautiful Chapel ; and I cannot help thinking about your Founder, who, as we may surely suppose, was able to watch and to take part in and rejoice at what you were there doing ; at the contribution that your Chapel was making to what must surely be his great purpose and scheme, namely that all the work that is done in school and on the playing field to produce a trained mind and a physically fit body should be welded together by the contribution that your Chapel makes in order to train both personality and character.

Now a Prize Giving is always a business that divides itself into two parts : one congratulates the people who have got prizes, and condoles with the people who think they ought to have got prizes ; because, after all, if there is any justice in the world, surely, if boys and girls do not always give the right answers, they can retort that examiners do not always set the right questions.

Of course a Prize Giving is much more than what its name actually implies. It is a stock-taking when all those who are interested in the school see what is happening to it, and when they are glad that the school is endowed with a principle like this. All that they have heard about the progress and achievements of the School, and its promises

Distribution of prizes at the Lawrence Royal Military School at Sanawar.

for next year, makes them very happy and encouraged. But of course a Prize Giving probably means to some people that they are getting nearer the end of their school time, and will soon be departing into other spheres and wider walks of life. We realise, I suppose, when that time comes, a little bit, the elder ones of you I hope, what the School has done, and ought to be, to us all.

May I tell you one thing ? When I went to school, I remember that the whole world centred round me. Everything had importance or unimportance according as it affected me. Whether I was allowed to have the right jam for tea and the right bootlaces was of more importance than the murder of a Prime Minister. Gradually when you come to school you find that you yourself, the jam and the bootlaces are not really as important as you began by thinking. Then you ask yourself : " Why are they not so important ? What is taking their place ? " You suddenly wake up to the amazing fact that you are only one in a much bigger show than yourself. Somebody else is taking your place—all the other people, other boys and girls, masters, School, House ; and you gradually learn in that way that Life is a co-operative business, that you cannot do without other people. You cannot accomplish anything in a tug-of-war unless all pull as one ; then you manage to effect something.

And so, when you go into wider places, you find exactly the same rules, and all the same kinds of things happen and have exactly the same risks.

I have given away just now a great many books and I always look at the backs to see if I have read them or should like to read them, and I see there are a great many fairy tales which I love reading. Do not let anybody think they are too old to read fairy stories. There are many people who read novels about things like crusades

Institution of Engineers Dinner.

and adventure. Do not let us think that they are just things we stop doing in our childhood, for the whole of Life is a fairy story and a crusade for those who keep their eyes open. We read much of chivalry when Knights used to fight in tournaments for ladies' gloves. There is no mistake that there are a great many crusades for you all to go on, a great many weak people to be rescued, and a great many dragons to kill, and I want every boy and girl to go out, not in the spirit of a prig thinking that they have to put the world right, but to go out in the spirit of adventure doing their own job, commanding a little crusade of their own, killing a dragon of their own, and rescuing a princess.

Now you are probably saying : " I shan't remember a word, and I only long for the fellow to stop." Well, he is going to stop, but I want to say 16 more words. You may know an old Dutch saying or proverb that exactly seems to fit what I have tried to say :

Fortune lost : Nothing lost ;
Courage lost : Much lost.
Honour lost : More lost ;
Soul lost : All lost.

[His Excellency subsequently announced that he had asked the Principal to give the whole School three days holiday to commemorate his visit (loud and prolonged cheering).]

INSTITUTION OF ENGINEERS DINNER.

In replying to the Toast of his health at the Annual Dinner of the Institution of Engineers held at Delhi, on the 9th November, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

9th Novem-
ber 1928.

It has not seldom been my experience, when an engineer is endeavouring to explain to me the intricacies

Institution of Engineers Dinner.

of his pet project or machinery, to feel acutely the limitations of my knowledge compared with his. If that be the effect produced on me by one of your number, you can imagine the frame of mind in which I rise to address a whole room full of the fraternity. But I can at any rate thank you all without reservation for your hospitality in entertaining me here to-night, and I need hardly say how great a pleasure it has given me to meet so many members of the Institution of Engineers in India. I should also like to thank you, Mr. President, for the very kind things you have said this evening, and the whole company for the way they have received the toast of my health.

I have thought always that engineers were much to be envied. For one thing, they are among those lucky people who have been able to dream dreams in boyhood and realise them in after-life—for every right-minded boy's ambition is to be an engineer, though he may not always foresee the years of exacting training which an intricate and technical science like this requires.

For another thing, the engineer can see with his own eyes the visible results of his work. Many of us laymen, especially if we have at any time had the misfortune to be politicians, must often feel inclined to ask ourselves what has really been the outcome of months or years of laborious work. We cover pages of paper with argument and reasoning and conclusions, or spend our best efforts in making speeches, which rarely are as convincing to our audiences as they seem to be to us, but, when we look later on for tangible results, that we can point to, we begin to wonder what is the sum total of our achievement. The wheels of administration move slowly ; much of what we seek to do is inevitably the second best ; and the world is more ready to accord criticism than approbation. We deal with opinions, you with facts ; and your pages of figures and calculations bring concrete results in the shape of bridges, railways, canals, machines. You can see the girders rising.

Institution of Engineers Dinner.

the water flowing, the two shining lines of metal stretching away over the plain and vanishing into the horizon, and, as you survey your work, you can see that it is good.

It is true that most of the great engineering feats in India have been performed by engineers in the service of Government, but, as industry expands, as in the course of nature it must, India will more and more feel the need of qualified engineers, whether in Government service or not. And it is here that your Institution has its function to fulfil. Public bodies and private firms will, if they are wise, always demand engineers whose qualifications are known to conform to certain standards, and an Institution such as yours is the best means of assuring the maintenance of those standards. And more than this ; men find in such an Association as this a stimulus to their work. Added to the natural pride, which any good craftsman takes in his work, is the corporate pride he feels in maintaining the traditions of the body to which he belongs. The more jealously you guard those traditions and the more rigidly you insist on the maintenance of high standards and the good name of your profession, the more valuable will your Institution be both to its own Members and to the community at large.

As you have just said, Mr. President, it is now nearly eight years since Lord Chelmsford inaugurated your body, and in doing so he forecast a great and successful future for it. I am very glad to know that it is fulfilling his prediction. Its membership of well over 1,000, from all branches of the profession and in all stages of their professional career, and the formation of Local Associations in every quarter of India, are sufficient proof that it has established its position and are a good omen for its further increase in the future.

And what is the future going to bring in the engineering world ? It is a commonplace that the advance made in engineering and mechanics within the memory of this

Institution of Engineers Dinner.

generation has probably exceeded that made in any equal period before in the history of the world, and a modern writer has told us that, during the last 150 years, the rate of progress in man's command over nature has been ten times as fast as in the whole period between Caesar and Napoleon.

The pace is tremendous, the effect of change in almost every sphere of life kaleidoscopic, and I sometimes wonder whether we can exactly foresee the effect of all this upon human character and temperament.

Many years ago, Samuel Butler, if I remember rightly, levelled a lance against the gradual and as he thought sinister domination that the machine was bound to establish over the man who had called it into being. Since he wrote, our whole conceptions of time and space are in course of being recast under the influence of modern invention and discovery, and here as in the evolution of industry under the influence of the machine there is some room for Butler's doubt whether man is in fact retaining control over the new forces his ingenuity has released. In any case we can hardly suppose that, when his whole environment is undergoing transformation, man himself will remain constant and unaffected. I was interested to notice, in the speech that Sir Alfred Ewing made at the Centenary celebration of the Institute of Civil Engineers in London last June, reflections not unconnected with those to which I have endeavoured to give expression. The subject of his address he termed "a century of inventions", but, after sketching the amazing progress made in the last 100 years, he asked himself whether that progress had not outstripped the ethical progress of the race. He spoke of the Great War and how that brought home to him what he termed "the moral failure of applied mechanics". But it was not a note of pessimism that, I think, he meant to strike but rather one of inspiration for the future. We may admit that, great as the impetus was which the Great

Institution of Engineers Dinner.

War gave to engineering and scientific inventions and research, it was largely an impetus in a destructive direction. Seen from this angle, with full recognition of all that was good in the concentrated effort of the War, the contemplation of the highest scientific genius of man employed upon the destruction of his fellows was not an inspiring spectacle. It was not progress in the sense in which thinking engineers imagine the true development of their profession. You would all, I know, agree that the victory which engineering and science have achieved over inanimate nature is no real triumph unless that triumph is employed and developed for the benefit and greater happiness of mankind. This must be at once the goal and the test of our endeavour.

You were good enough to refer, Mr. President, to the interest I have always taken in the efforts of engineers, whether in India or elsewhere, to develop the country and improve the conditions and amenities of its inhabitants. Well, during the last two and a half years I have travelled pretty widely over India and have seen visible and unforgettable proofs of what engineers have done for the people of India, how canals and railways and other means of communication have secured great tracts from the old terrors of famine, how the desert has been made to blossom, how the lot of the poor has been improved, how wild tribesmen have been tamed, how health has been brought to fevered districts, and new comforts of life to dwellers in the remotest parts. And for this, among other reasons, I rejoice to see engineers joining together in an Association like this, whose tendency will surely always be to direct the science of engineering along beneficent lines.

I thank you, Gentlemen, again for having permitted me to be your guest, and I should like to assure you once more that I shall retain thereby a more direct and personal interest in the future growth and fortune of your Institution.

Address of Welcome presented by the Bihar Landholders' Association.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE
BIHAR LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

14th Novem- In replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the
ber 1928. Bihar Landholders' Association at Patna on the 14th Novem-
ber, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

It has given me great pleasure to be present here to-day and receive the address of welcome to which we have just listened, and I wish to thank you all for the warmth of the reception which you have given to me. Earlier this year I had the opportunity of visiting the southern portions of this Province, and of seeing something of the areas which suffered so severely from floods last year. As you are aware, a Committee of engineers have recently investigated and reported upon the causes of these floods which have repeatedly, in the past, devastated the coastal districts of Orissa, and they have made a number of recommendations designed to mitigate their effects. It would be premature for me to discuss these recommendations, beyond saying that the Committee appear to have discharged their duty with great thoroughness and ability, and that I am sure you can rely upon the warm sympathy and assistance of your Governor in any practical measures that it may be found feasible to take on the Committee's report.

I have been looking forward keenly to our first visit to Bihar and I am grateful to have been given this opportunity of meeting so many of its leading men in the capital of the Province. I know well its ancient fame to which you have alluded in your address. For historians of all ages have spoken of it, and of the old Maurya and Gupta dynasties which made it famous, and from their writings

Address of Welcome presented by the Bihar Landholders' Association.

we can gauge the political and religious importance which belonged to this Northern India Empire and the advanced state of civilisation which it achieved.

Of those days, no doubt, the same thing was true as what you have said in your address to-day, that the rural population, which you represent, are the backbone of the country. And you are right in thinking that, in all that pertains to Indian agriculture and in all that makes for the welfare and happiness of those who derive their livelihood from the land, I shall always take the deepest interest. I have had some personal experience of farming and, when you say that Government has sometimes failed to treat Zemindars with sympathy and consideration, I can appreciate your feelings; I fear that it is not uncommon for farmers in other parts of the world to feel that as a class they are misunderstood. But the lesson of this, as you and your fathers have recognised, is that Zemindars should appreciate the importance of organising themselves on the basis of the interests they share, and of working in harmony for their common good and for the good of their tenants. The strongest buttress of any landed class is a contented and prosperous tenantry and I would therefore urge you constantly to identify their interests with your own.

I have followed with close attention the passage of events in the Legislative Council concerning Tenancy Legislation. I recognise the complex character of the issues under examination, and the sharp difference of interest that is involved. At the same time, if I may offer a word of advice to both those who represent landlords and those who represent Raiyats, it would be that in discussions such as these they should not permit themselves to forget that they are and must be partners in a common

Address of Welcome presented by the Bihar Landholders' Association.

undertaking—and that this essential bond between them should impel both sides to the acceptance of a reasonable compromise. For, if the agricultural elements in the community are to receive their due in these political days, they cannot afford to be a house divided against itself.

I congratulate your association on attaining its jubilee this year and I hope that it has an even more useful life before it. For its fiftieth year ushers in an important and critical era. The Agricultural Commission has recently made its full and valuable report, and its recommendations are now under the consideration both of the Central and Provincial Governments. Whatever action Government may finally decide upon, they will have to rely much upon the help of the land-owning aristocracy to put their ideas into practice. It is the big Zemindars, with broad acres and capital behind them, who will have to show the way to others in adopting new ideas and improving the resources which lie ready to their hand. And I earnestly hope that in such practical development Government will be able to count upon the convinced and intelligent support of those whom you represent.

The Statutory Commission too, assisted by their Indian colleagues, are now in the early stages of their enquiry, and will shortly visit this Province. The recommendations which they will in due course make to Parliament must of necessity be of vital interest to your community as to all other sections of Indian life, and I have no doubt they will welcome any expression of opinion on those matters directly affecting your welfare, which you may desire to lay before them.

I appreciate what you have said, gentlemen, regarding the support you are ready to give to steady political progress. In every country, I suppose, the agricultural

Opening of the Science College, Patna University.

community, for whom experience shows that there is no short cut to progress in the affairs which are their principal interest, must be more vitally concerned than any other to see stable administration. If therefore in India, where nearly three quarters of the population derive their livelihood from agriculture, it is the duty of Government by every means in its power to promote the welfare of the agriculturist, it is not less the duty, as it is the interest, of the agricultural classes to stand together in the cause of good Government against disruptive elements. And accordingly I greatly value the assurance which your Association has given me of their loyalty and desire to assist the Government.

I thank you, gentlemen, for all your good wishes and I echo your hope that during my Viceroyalty something may be achieved for the lasting happiness and prosperity of the people of India.

OPENING OF THE SCIENCE COLLEGE, PATNA
UNIVERSITY.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech when he opened the Science College, Patna University, on the 15th November 1928.

Your Excellencies, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,—I must begin by thanking you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the kind words with which you have welcomed me to Patna and to Patna University. It is natural, when one hears of Patna University, to think of the ancient University not far from here, at Nalanda, which has been described as “the most magnificent and celebrated seat of Buddhist learning in the world”. It attracted students and scholars from all India and embassies from foreign monarchs, and its library was famous far and wide. They seem to have managed things better in those days,

Opening of the Science College, Palna University.

or perhaps there was no Public Service Commission, for it was the usual practice that on completion of their education those scholars who were not destined for a scholastic career all received appointments from the king.

We have listened to-day to an interesting description of the growth of this University to its present status, and I feel confident that as years pass it will go from strength to strength. The only omission I noticed in the Vice-Chancellor's speech was the absence of any reference to the invaluable part he himself has played, during his five years as Vice-Chancellor, in directing and watching over the young life of this University. There is another name I feel bound to mention. Sir Saiyid Muhammad Fakhruddin has held office continuously since the institution of the Reformed Government and it is very largely due to him that the University and Colleges are what they are to-day. The educational progress achieved has been remarkable, and I am only sorry that, as the position stands at present, the Government of India is precluded from making any contribution from central revenues to work of the kind which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have mentioned in your address. Since the institution of the Province the increase in expenditure on education has naturally been most marked in the case of University education, and I think it is perhaps well to remember that such education is only the apex of the whole structure, and that its success must rest upon the provision of adequate facilities for a sound secondary education throughout the Province. In all educational matters on which you may from time to time desire advice, you are fortunate in being able to rely on the counsel of your Governor His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, whose experience and sympathy will, I know, always be at your command.

As you have said, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, the particular duty I have now to perform is to declare formally open

Opening of the Science College, Patna University.

the Science College laboratories. No University to-day in a scientific age is complete without its equipment for scientific research, as one of the many branches which go to make the whole tree of human knowledge, and it gives me great pleasure to declare open these buildings which are to form so important a part of this great University. We hear it said sometimes that the application of science to modern life is the solution of most of the problems which confront us. In that there is no doubt exaggeration, but it is certainly true that India with its great material resources to be developed, its industrial possibilities, its agricultural and engineering problems to be solved, offers wide scope to those whose talents lie in the direction of scientific research. And to those of you who **are going to pursue this line of study** I would say that, if you take all that a scientific training has to give you, you will find that, besides having much to give to others, you will gain much that will be of use to you in the wider life that will open for you when you have left this University. A modern writer has thus defined the true scientific method : "to trust no statements without verification ; to test all things as rigorously as possible, to keep no secrets, to attempt no monopolies, to give out one's best modestly and plainly, serving no other end but knowledge ". There are some, fortunately, in all spheres of human enquiry who pursue knowledge for its own sake ; there are scientists who have no end in view but that of pure science and exact knowledge, with no thought for personal gain or for exploiting their discoveries. And not rarely have the truly scientific men failed to see the possible application of their research either to their own profit or to the benefit of humankind. But for the ordinary man the problem is so to link up scientific research with technical progress that he may leave the world in some way better than he found it, and I therefore wish a long and successful life of practical usefulness to the buildings which I am shortly to open.

Opening of the Science College, Patna University.

I am speaking however to-day to many besides scientists, and an occasion such as this naturally suggests reflections upon the kind of contribution that it is in the power of a great Educational Society to make to the varied and manifold life from which in turn it draws its own vitality. One test—perhaps the most searching test—of educational result is its success or failure in purging the mind of prejudice and false judgment, and replacing them by a genuine love for and zeal in the pursuit of truth. The pursuit is certain to be no easy one, by whatever path you travel. But, if you follow it whole-heartedly, you will find the fields of knowledge stretching ever wider before you on either hand ; and by knowledge I mean not only the objective result of learning but, what is of greater importance, the qualities that are the natural offspring of the effort to learn, and of the recognition of what learning means. It is from this point of view that I believe all Universities, in India as elsewhere, can make so great and so unique a contribution to the civic life of the community. There is no necessity to emphasize the importance of public opinion in any country, especially a country in which democratic institutions are in the process of formation. A great English statesman has written “in a democratic representative Government we want statesmanship, and the only secure basis of statesmanship is that public opinion should be statesmanlike”. But too often we are unhappily reminded that public opinion is by no means infallible.

The truth is that public opinion—or indeed any individual mind—can never have before it more than a fraction of the relevant data, in the light of which complete judgment can be formed. We all, I suppose, have only a limited number of categories into which we tend to thrust the impressions produced upon us by everyday experience. These categories form a picture, to which we are constantly tempted forcibly to accommodate facts.

Opening of the Science College, Patna University.

Yet facts are stubborn things, and are apt to rebel against such treatment. But none the less we continue the attempt, and public opinion, therefore, is frequently not so much a judgment of facts as a particular version of them. Many persons too are prone to want to have their thinking done for them and to trust too readily to the printed word and to current catchwords and phrases.

I have already suggested what I believe to be one cure for what is admittedly a constitutional defect of human nature. The function of education, and especially of an institution such as this, is to encourage independent investigation and thought. Situated as it is in a busy and crowded centre, Patna University should be the focus of thought of different communities, different creeds, different interests. Here we should find the play of mind on mind, the habit of independent thought, the scholarship whose hall-mark is that it knows its own limitations of knowledge. And the play of mind on mind will encourage and develop the powers of your students to think independently, and not to rest content without solid foundations for the convictions that they profess. I am not advocating that students should plunge at once into the whirlpool of party politics ; there is plenty of time for that later on for those who embark, as some of us at one time or another have embarked, upon that rather bewildering voyage. But, when the time comes for you to leave this University—and here I speak especially to the students—and to go back to your homes, in town or village or country as the case may be, I would have you remember that men like you, with a University education, ought to have and will have a great influence in moulding the thoughts of many who have not had the same advantages. And the answer to the question whether that influence will be good or bad will depend, perhaps more than you realise, on the use you make of the opportunities which are now being offered to you by the great institution to which you have the honour to belong.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL
CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF RANGOON.

19th Novem- In replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the
ber 1928. Municipal Corporation of the City of Rangoon on 19th November
His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The welcome which you have given to Lady Irwin and myself has added, if anything could, to the pleasure we feel in setting foot in Burma. Even to those who have been fortunate enough to spend part of their life in India the name of Burma has something of a magic sound, and nobody, I think, could step ashore at Rangoon without feeling a thrill that he has at last opened the door to this enticing land, a land of great waterways and forests, of fertile plains, the home of a warm-hearted and hospitable people. And Rangoon itself is a fitting gateway by which to enter. We shall have but a few days in which to admire your city, but I hope during that brief time to be able to make some acquaintance of its people and its problems, and I shall hope to take away with me, when I leave, that personal knowledge which will mean so much when any question affecting its welfare may in future come before me.

You have, gentlemen, as you have said, the great responsibility of directing the fortunes and development of one of the great cities of the East, a city which has advanced by giant strides in the last half century and for which it is easy to foretell an even greater future. I know that you realise the greatness of the trust which has been committed to you, and that you are determined to discharge it in a manner worthy of its importance.

You made reference in your address to the Royal Commission on Agriculture which has recently given us its memorable report. The Government of your Province is now occupied in a detailed consideration of its recommendations, and I hope that it may be found possible to

*Address of Welcome from the Burma Indian Chamber of
Commerce.*

take early action on them, for the benefit of the agricultural community and therefore of Burma as a whole. I noticed that in their report the Commission drew special attention to certain features in the marketing of rice in Burma which, in their opinion, called for revision, and I have no doubt that their recommendations on this subject will be of special interest to you. I trust that in any event the depression in trade to which you have referred may be lifted in the near future and give way to an era of continued prosperity. It is well to know that in your Governor, Sir Charles Innes, you have a leader on whose experience, judgment and sympathy in these matters you can at all times confidently rely.

Your cordial welcome, gentlemen, was expressed with a fitting brevity, to be expected of a body of business-like men. I have tried to follow your good example. Lady Irwin and I warmly thank you again for all your good wishes, and we know that, when in three weeks' time we say good-bye to Rangoon on our departure we shall leave behind us a large part of our hearts with Burma and its people.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BURMA
INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce at Rangoon on the 19th November, and made the following reply :—

19th November 1928.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I must begin by thanking you for the kind way in which you have welcomed us to Burma, and Lady Irwin wishes me to join her thanks with mine. I am very glad to have had the opportunity of meeting the members of your Chamber and of hearing

Address of Welcome from the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce.

of the obstacles with which you feel your commercial advance is now faced. I echo the satisfaction you have expressed that in the task of surmounting these obstacles you have the advice and experience of your Governor Sir Charles Innes, to help you.

You have referred to the important question of the financial relations between India and Burma and have suggested that authoritative information on the subject should be made available without delay. I am well aware that Burma like other Provinces in India has felt that she has cause to be dissatisfied with her financial position as determined by the Meston Settlement, and steps have already been taken by my Government to place before the Statutory Commission a full and impartial appreciation of the situation in regard to the working of the Meston Settlement. They have dealt in this with the situation in regard to the finances of Burma, as it appears to them. This will no doubt be supplemented by a statement of the considerations which the Government of Burma deem to be important in this respect and possibly by definite proposals for the future. Representatives of the people of Burma elected by the Legislative Council will have an opportunity of examining and discussing the material thus provided in consultation with the Statutory Commission, and I trust that by this means any defects or inequalities that there may be in present arrangements will in the end be removed.

I do not think that I can altogether agree with your description of Indian trade and industry in general as being in a state of acute depression. The outlook for certain trades, such as your own rice trade, and for certain industries, such as the cotton industry in Bombay and the coal industry, has lately been disquieting, but statistics

Address of Welcome from the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce.

of foreign trade for the last eighteen months show a distinct improvement on the average for the preceding seven years. There would seem, therefore, to be good ground for believing that the foreign trade of India is steadily expanding, and, if we can judge by the earnings of the Indian railways, internal trade is also on the increase. I cannot think that any reasonable man will deny that some of the troubles which at present beset our industries are due to causes which are not directly economic and which can be in great part removed by the exercise of sound public opinion determined to safeguard and promote the national welfare.

I have spoken of the unsatisfactory state of the rice trade, and I regret that, although last year it shared in the general improvement in Burman trade over the figures of 1926-27, the returns for this year have so far shown a severe falling off in the export of rice from Burma to foreign countries. The chief cause of this is the keener competition from other countries of the world. Italian, Spanish and American rices are being grown for the British and Continental markets, and are achieving considerable success. They are of good quality, well-graded and prepared with a careful eye to customers' requirements. The price of these rices is 3 or 4 shillings per cwt. higher than the price of Burma rice ; but, owing to their better appearance and quality, they are still able to push Burma rice out of the market. An entirely new feature of the last two years is the entry into the Indian market of rice from Indo-China and Siam. In 1927-28, 59,000 tons of this rice were imported, and during the early months of the current year the imports have been on an even larger scale. If this intensive competition is to be met successfully, there is need for improved methods of cultivation, so as to increase the yield per acre and improve the quality of the grain, and also perhaps for better methods of marketing

Address of Welcome from the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce.

especially in such matters as grading, packing, and more direct contact with the consumer. The Agricultural Department in Burma is already working at such problems as these, and I have little doubt that as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture their work in this respect will become even more useful. I have recently seen some interesting figures which show that the improved varieties of seed now being distributed by the Department of Agriculture give an extra yield of about 300 lbs. of paddy per acre and that this means an increase in the value of the cultivators' crop by about Rs. 10 per acre. When we remember that the area in Burma last year under these improved varieties of rice was estimated at 288,000 acres, you will see the profit which is already accruing to the cultivator. If even one half the rice area of Burma were to be sown with this improved seed, the value of the total crop would be increased by nearly six crores of rupees. You may be assured that my Government are fully alive to the importance of the great rice trade of Burma and earnestly desire and hope that a return to normal trading conditions may be not far distant, and that the trade will in the end regain its former prosperity.

You have also referred to the state of the telegraphic service between India and Burma. My Government fully recognise the importance of a reliable service, but, apart from unavoidable interruptions by storms and cyclones, we believe that the service between India and Burma is as reliable as that in India itself. In addition to the land-lines, wireless communication between Rangoon and Madras has been working for some time with satisfactory results, and experiments are about to be undertaken to see whether recent discoveries in wireless telegraphy cannot be utilised for communication between Rangoon and Calcutta. It is

Orient Club Dinner at Rangoon.

hoped that as a result of these experiments it will be possible to establish a telegraph service less liable to interruption.

I have put the facts, as I see them, gentlemen, before you frankly, for there is no use in deceiving ourselves by false hopes or promises. But before saying good-bye to you this morning I wish to assure you again that any considered suggestion which you or any other commercial body in Burma may ever put forward will be examined by my Government with the greatest care and sympathy, for we can ill afford to watch without concern the trouble or adversity of any part of the great Indian Empire.

I would only now repeat that I have welcomed the chance of making the personal acquaintance of those who can speak for commerce in this great commercial centre, and that this meeting will be of great assistance to me in considering the problems with which you are immediately concerned.

ORIENT CLUB DINNER AT RANGOON.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Dinner given by the Orient Club at Rangoon on the 21st November :—

21st November 1928.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have further engagements to fulfil this evening and you will not wish me to detain you by a long speech. I confess that it is seldom I can find such a good excuse for being brief. But, though our thanks have to be expressed in a few words, they are none the less sincere, and on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself I should like to express the great pleasure we have had in accepting the invitation of the members of your Club to dine with them to-night. We have met with such great hospitality and so many

Orient Club Dinner at Rangoon.

kindnesses since we set foot in Burma that we knew we should receive a cordial welcome here to-night, but the kind words which you, Mr. Chairman, have just used have indeed made us feel that we are among friends.

We have seen as much of Rangoon as we have been able to fit into three crowded days, and our only regret is that we have to leave it to-morrow. We wish that our stay could have been longer, but it has been long enough to enable us to appreciate the friendship and good-will which has been shown towards us by all classes. And, as I may have no other opportunity of saying so in public, I should like to say now to this gathering which, as you have said, is truly representative of Rangoon, that Lady Irwin and I have been greatly touched by the welcome we have received wherever we have gone.

Some people perhaps think that the life of a Viceroy is just a round of tiger-shooting and pleasant dinner parties, with an occasional dip into an official file between courses. In reality it is an exacting life and there are moments when he would be more than human if he did not feel the pressure of work and responsibility lying with a leaden weight upon his shoulders. But I can imagine no better relief, no greater incentive to renew his vigour or keep his ideals clear, than such a welcome as I have received in Burma, which stirs the heart and makes the blood run faster, as one reflects upon the generous loyalty to the person of the Crown, by which it is stimulated and evoked.

When we see Rangoon again, we shall have seen much that many people would come from the ends of the earth to see and we shall have many memories of a beautiful and interesting country to carry away with us to India and later on to England. But I think that the chief

St. Andrew's Dinner at Rangoon.

memory that will remain with us will be not so much the scenery and colour of this great Province as the kindness of its people and the friendships we have made.

ST. ANDREW'S DINNER AT RANGOON.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the 22nd November 1928.
Viceroy at the St. Andrew's Dinner at Rangoon on the 22nd
November :—

A Viceroy has many privileges in virtue of his office, many pleasures as well as duties. One privilege, that I had hardly hoped for, you have allowed me to-night by inviting me to consider myself for this evening an honorary Scot and to take part in rites which I had thought were not for eyes that first saw the light South of the Tweed.

I am not sure whether all those whom I am addressing this evening are Scots or whether there are many, like myself, of a more Southerly, but still as I hold Northerly, extraction. If it is indeed a purely Scots gathering, it is another example of that racial gift of peaceful penetration which is the envy of other countries ; if it includes many aliens like myself, it is only proof of the hospitality which you ever find in a Scottish home. It was your own poet, I think, who said that even in Heaven he would ask no more than a Highland welcome.

To my hosts I would say how highly I appreciate the compliment of being asked to come here to-night ; the more so, in that you have strained your national conscience for my sake so far as to forestall the traditional date of your celebration by eight days—unless indeed it be that you mean to seize on my visit as an excuse for having two celebrations in one year.

St. Andrew's Dinner at Rangoon.

It is not uncommon for people who find themselves in the position I am in to-night to try and fortify their status by tracing some distant Scottish connection, and pointing to a drop or two of real Scotch in their veins. I make no such effort, though I must confess as a child to having had a passionate longing, which has never wholly left me, to have the right to wear a kilt. But in pondering over my inferiority the other day I was comforted by something I found purely by accident in a book, published only half a century ago, called the *Cyclopædia of India*. It happened to open at the word *England*, and the definition I found was this—"England—the Southern part of an island in Europe, which, with Ireland, another island on its west, forms the kingdom of Great Britain that now rules British India. It is said to have been known to the Aryan Hindus". There is no mention, you notice, of Scotland either here, or, so far as I could find, elsewhere in the *Cyclopædia*. Owing, no doubt, to her national and traditional habit of self-depreciation Scotland appears not to have been known even to the Aryan Hindus! It is only fair to confess that this book was published in Madras. I do not suppose that any publisher in Calcutta, or Rangoon, would have been guilty of such an omission, or, if he had been, would have escaped Scot-free.

But in real life one doesn't have to look far to see what Scotsmen have done in building up our Empire, whether in India or Burma, in Westminster or elsewhere. Your Governor is possessed of the inalienable rights of membership in your very honourable fraternity, and, in India, at any rate, there are places, of which Rangoon is surely one, which one sometimes feels ought not to have been marked red on the map, but disguised under some appropriate tartan. The names of your countrymen are written broadly on Indian history, whether they were Viceroys or Governors or soldiers, in the services or in business. At

St. Andrew's Dinner at Rangoon.

home, the monopoly they have acquired and the degree, to which, if I may use a phrase of present-day popular currency, they exploit the slower-witted Anglo-Saxon like myself, is almost as sore a subject in political as in commercial circles, and I have heard it suggested that an All-Parties Conference of Englishmen should demand that Scotland should now grant England complete Swaraj. But if Scots have taken a good deal for themselves out of the pool, let us be generous enough to admit that they have put a good deal in. Both in the Arts—Literature, Drama, Painting—and in the applied and technical sciences, you have stamped the mark of Scottish talent very deep upon the framework of the world. And, when the Englishman has finished with his joking about your humour—which, whether from your fault or his, he generally is totally unable to understand—and has made the necessary reference to your national and wholly praiseworthy qualities of thrift, he is left with the conclusion that the Scot must possess many other very vital characteristics that have enabled him to play the part he has upon the stage of human progress. This is not the occasion, nor am I the person, to discuss these qualities, but I content myself with drawing your attention to one consideration that is relevant to my present purpose.

The Scot perhaps, more than any other type of human mind, has always seemed to me to combine in judicious mixture the philosophical and practical aspects of life. An intense believer in the power of humanity to make progress, and inspired as I think by the true spirit of liberalism in its widest sense, he has been saved by that gift of commonsense—which is so uncommon—from forgetting that progress is not only a thing that lends itself to easy phrases or exalted sentiments, but is something which has to be painfully achieved, and which can only withstand the winds and the storms of life if it rests upon

St. Andrew's Dinner at Rangoon.

solid foundations of strong personal character and practical facts. This blend of qualities is essential at all places and in all times, and I do not think I am wrong when I say that there is great room for it to-day in the approach we make to the problems with which you in Burma, and India, are more particularly concerned. There are many difficulties to be solved, arising out of the partnership—a partnership not only of history but, as I think, a partnership of necessity and mutual benefit—between India and Burma and Great Britain. And they are not likely to be solved successfully unless generous impulses and hard realities can be harmoniously related to one another. Constitutions are raining round us like autumn leaves, and, whatever the instrument chosen for the review of India's political machinery, it was inevitable that the occasion should cause a wide ferment in the body-politic. It is necessary to explore the implications of many of the proposals and large phrases, which are now in circulation, and satisfy ourselves that they do in fact represent policies which are well calculated to achieve the ends of promoting the political advance that we have in view.

I am not one of those who think that the door is closing upon the opportunities of service which the best type of Englishman and Scotsman can render to the future of his adopted country. The one thing essential on all sides is that men should place themselves in mental posture to appreciate one another's point of view. In the relations of India and Great Britain, new times bring new demands, and new methods of serving the same purposes. But the adjustment demands patience and it demands faith—and, for the very reason that the whole history of the race, whose hospitality I have to-night enjoyed, has sprung from the exercise of those virtues, I feel confident that it has a potent part to play in the difficult days that lie ahead.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE TOWN COUNCIL
OF TAUNGGYI.

The Town Council of Taunggyi presented an address of welcome to His Excellency the Viceroy, who replied in the following terms :— 24th November 1928.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and my daughter join me in thanking you for the kind welcome you have given us. We look forward greatly to the time we are to spend in Taunggyi with its picturesque surroundings and its friendly climate.

You have touched briefly on the recent growth of your town and I feel little doubt that with its favourable situation and its new status as the Federal Capital of the Shan States its importance will increase as years go on. That will bring you new and greater responsibilities and I feel confident that you will be ready to shoulder them, as you have in the past, with fidelity and care.

It is a great pleasure to me to be able to make personal acquaintance with a district, possessing so many distinctive features in nature and history as yours, and I count myself fortunate to be the first Viceroy to see for myself a place that, as you say, to my predecessors was only known by name.

In thanking you therefore again, gentlemen, for your kindness, I should like to assure you that I shall watch the future history of Taunggyi and the fortunes of its people with interest, and in the hope that all success and happiness may attend them.

DURBAR AT TAUNGGYI.

24th November 1928. The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Durbar held at Taunggyi on the 24th November :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you, Chiefs of the Shan States, for the cordial welcome you have given to Lady Irwin and myself. It is true that there is so much to see in other parts of Burma that we cannot spend as much time in your country as we would have wished, but we were determined that we would not return to India without visiting the Shan States, of which we have heard so much and in whose welfare we take so warm an interest. As we approached your capital today we envied you the fine variety of scenery through which we passed, your wooded hill-sides rising from the plains, your grassy uplands and the fertile Yawngghwe valley, and finally the cool plateau of Taunggyi with its flank of rocky crags.

But, if you are to be envied among men, I think that I am to be envied among Viceroys, for I believe that no Viceroy has ever before set foot in Taunggyi. Twenty-one years ago Lord Minto visited Lashio and held a Durbar of the Chiefs of the Northern Shan States as I am holding a Durbar today of all the Chiefs of the Federated States. Much has changed since then. Since those days, thanks to the construction of the Southern Shan States Railway and the advent of motor traffic, Taunggyi has become easily accessible. Since then, too, as you have said, the administrative organisation of your country has been altered by the union of your States in one federation. I am glad to hear you express the belief that this new system has been conducive to harmony of working and holds out good hopes of further development. The reorganisation was planned by capable hands, on wise lines. While it left to the Chiefs a wide measure of independence in administration and control of their own States, it joined all together for their common weal and gave the whole the

Durbar at Taunggyi.

strength that only comes from unity. In your Council of Chiefs you have a body which can fitly represent the views of all, and I feel no doubt that both you yourselves and Government derive great benefit from such mutual discussions. I heard with pleasure the tribute which you paid in your address to the part Sir Reginald Craddock and Sir Harcourt Butler played in bringing this re-organisation into effect. You are to be congratulated on having, as their successor, a Governor whose interest in your affairs will, I know, be as deep and sympathetic as theirs.

You have said that the future welfare of your country will depend to a great extent on the improvement in communications. That this has been recognised by Government is, I think, clear from the programme they have marked out, by which it is hoped that within the next ten years 750 miles of metalled roads will have been added to your highways. The cost will be considerable, but I feel no doubt that it will be money well spent, and that it will prove a wise policy to devote practically all the available funds to the provision of adequate communications, which must be the first step in the development of your country. The benefit which the people have derived from the improvement in communications can be judged from the great increase, in recent years, of motor traffic of every sort along your roads.

The possibility of Railway extension in your country must also be considered, and you need be under no apprehension that the Shan States will be overlooked when schemes of Railway construction are under consideration. A survey for an extension of the Northern Shan States line from Lashio to Muse is now being made, which would open up communications with the Shweli valley and Chinese trade routes, and the investigations will show whether it would be financially advisable to construct such a line.

Durbar at Taunggyi.

I hope too that the Railway administration will before long be able to carry out an investigation of a line from Shwenyaung to Hsipaw, which will link up the Northern and Southern Shan States Railways.

But, though the special efforts of Government have been directed towards communications, I have no doubt that other departments of administration will receive due attention in their turn, and I am glad to know that the claims of medical institutions and education have not been neglected. As your country develops—and it contains such great possibilities of mineral and agricultural wealth that development is sure to come—you will find more and more value in the proper education of your people, and I hope that the Chiefs will not forget that this is one of their greatest responsibilities. Solicitude for his people and loyalty to Government should be the two watch-words of every Chief in the Federation, and as His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative I cordially acknowledge the assurance you have expressed today of continued loyalty to the British Crown. Government has lost two good friends among your number in the last two years, the Sawbwas of Yawngghwe and Hsipaw, whose consistent loyalty and wide personal influence were of inestimable benefit to the British Government. The tradition they have left behind them is one that all may well try to follow.

Chiefs of the Shan States, you have done me a great honour by gathering together here to-day to bid me welcome to your country, and it has given me very real pleasure to meet so many of those in whose hands the future welfare of your country largely rests. I thank you all, on behalf of Lady Irwin and on my own behalf, for your good wishes, and all our own good wishes go out to you in return. The memory of our visit and of to-day's Durbar will long remain with us, and it will ever be our prayer that the Chiefs and people of the Federated Shan States may live in peace and prosperity.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MANDALAY MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

The Mandalay Municipal Committee presented an address of welcome to His Excellency the Viceroy, who replied as follows :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I thank you all sincerely for the welcome you have given us to Mandalay. Although we have but newly set foot in your town, its historical associations, its scenery and the fame of its palace and temples and other buildings are so familiar to us that we know it will cast the same spell upon us as it has upon countless travellers in the East. Here in the premier city of the Upper Burma the true pulse of Burmese life beats strongly, and I therefore particularly value the assurance of loyalty to the Crown which you have expressed in your address.

I am glad to hear from you, Mr. President, that your Committee has been able to record a progressive improvement in the administration of their important charge. I appreciate that the large area of the city, in comparison with its wealth, is always likely to render it difficult for you to give it as many of the amenities of urban life as you would desire, but I hope that you will not shrink, if need be, from the responsibility of raising fresh revenue to meet the charges for improvements which you find it your duty to effect. You referred, for instance, to the water-supply scheme which you hope to carry out in the near future. I understand that at the present time plans are before Government for the erection of a reservoir and the extension of the pipe line, and that it is hoped that sanction to proceed with the scheme will be given at an early date. This work will only be a supplement—though a very useful one—to the complete scheme to which you referred, and for which a survey is now being carried out. When that survey is complete I have little doubt that the Committee will receive assistance towards

Address of Welcome from the Mandalay Municipal Committee.

the necessary capital expenditure from Provincial funds, provided that it can show that it will be able to finance the recurring charges of the scheme, including the sums required for loan charges and for maintenance and renewal. It is therefore, as you realise, essential that your finances should be in a position to meet these and similar calls upon them.

An important change, as you have indicated, was made in your constitution by the introduction of Municipal reforms nearly six years ago. By those reforms the whole administration of the Municipality was transferred to non-official members, and therefore became more than ever a matter in which the electorate must take a constant and responsible interest. For your part it is incumbent upon you so to discharge your stewardship that you can give a faithful account of it to those who have placed you in this position of trust, and they on their side owe you their free support or their frank criticism according to the manner in which you carry out the work entrusted to you.

You made a brief reference in your address to the desirability of vesting a full measure of responsibility in the Municipal Committee. This of course is a matter for the Local Government to decide and I do not think I can offer an opinion as to whether the amount of external control which is now provided by the Municipal law of Burma could be relaxed. But it is right to remember that in most countries it has been recognised as essential to impose some outside control on Municipal bodies ; and I feel certain that such superintendence as your Local Government retains is exerted with no desire to hamper the activities of local bodies, but solely with a view to guiding them aright and helping them in their responsible duties.

Unveiling of a Statue of Sir Harcourt Butler.

We have, I am sorry to say, only three days before us in which to enjoy the sights and pleasures of Mandalay and the hospitality of its people. They will, we feel sure, be three very happy days, and we know that you will do all in your power to make us look back on our visit as a milestone to be specially remembered in our travels through India and Burma.

UNVEILING OF A STATUE OF SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.

In unveiling a statue of Sir Harcourt Butler at Rangoon H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I take it as ^{11th Decem-} a great honour that I should have been asked to unveil this ^{ber 1928.} statue of Sir Harcourt Butler, for I know, and have had it borne in upon me during my present tour, in what esteem and affection the people of this city and this country held him. My own acquaintance with your late Governor is comparatively limited in point of time, but long before I came to India I knew his name as the name of one who had already made his mark on India and established a firm place for himself in the history of Indian administration. His earlier career was an omen of his later success. In the United Provinces he quickly acquired a reputation as a district officer, and at an early age was chosen, above the heads of many others, to be Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. I do not doubt that the friendships, which as Foreign Secretary he then made with a wide circle of Indian Princes, and the confidence they learnt to repose in him have been a great asset in the difficult enquiry into questions affecting the States which he has recently been conducting. From the Foreign Office he rose to the Governor-General's Executive Council, and as Member for Education found time among his onerous and responsible duties to organise the new Education Department.

Unveiling of a Statue of Sir Harcourt Butler.

He left the Governor-General's Council to rule a Province, and from this time on Burma and the United Provinces vied with each other to secure his services. His Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma during the early years of the war, and his wise guidance of its affairs during those anxious times, were later responsible for his return as Lieutenant-Governor to his old Province. Burma however again reclaimed him, and it is with his work as Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of Burma that you are naturally most concerned. During his Governorship the Reforms were successfully inaugurated in this Province, and in harmony with his Ministers he directed their early course. His genuine interest in University extension and administration, in public health and agriculture, in the abolition of slavery, in commercial development and other spheres of public welfare, took practical and useful form, and he could leave Burma with the satisfaction of having accomplished much that will be to the enduring benefit of the Province.

Nor was it only through these more serious sides of his work that he sought to identify himself with the life of Burma. He shared to the full with many here that love of horse-racing which affords relief to the minds, and perhaps sometimes to the pockets, of its devotees—and I have been told that there has not often been a more popular win on the Rangoon Race Course than when the Governor's horse won the Governor's Cup at the Rangoon meeting in February last year.

It is fitting then that he should be here commemorated. A great public servant and administrator, he has ever combined in rare and remarkable degree the vision of the distant hills and the worldly wisdom to choose a path across the plain towards them. Many of you must have read

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

the admirable addresses he gave to the Training classes at Meiktila, when he urged his young hearers "to live and act and move under the banner of a higher patriotism, which knows no boundaries but those of justice and freedom", and at the same time gave them terse and fatherly advice upon the ordering of their common round of daily duty. Few men have been more rich in that saving humour which sees life whole and in its due proportions, and which gives men—as it has given him—a whimsical insight into themselves no less than others.

Above all things, I think, Sir Harcourt Butler possessed the gift of entering into the minds of the people he has governed. Of him can it surely be said "*Homo sum ; humani nil a me alienum puto*". As administrator he realised to the full what is surely the first truth to be graven in the mind of one who deals with politics, that politics are essentially a human science, whose subject-matter is human beings.

Thus it was that shrewdness of judgment, joined with the gift of appreciation of other standpoints from his own, gave him his particular power, and won for him the confidence of all with whom or under whom he served. It has left him with the legacy of a long service to India that I fancy he himself would value most, in the affection and trust of the people whose interests he shared and whose pleasures and whose sorrows he constantly made his own.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL LAND-
HOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

The Bengal Landholders' Association presented an address of welcome to His Excellency the Viceroy at Calcutta on the 15th December, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—

15th Decem-
ber 1928.

Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for the address in which you have just bidden Lady Irwin and myself

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

welcome to Calcutta, and for the good wishes to which you there give expression. I understand that your body represents a wide extent of land-owning interests in Bihar and Orissa and Assam, as well as in Bengal, and, as a land-owner myself, it is a great pleasure to me to meet brother-land-owners and men who can speak for so important a part of the life of three Provinces.

Your address has been an address of real welcome. It has avoided controversial subjects, and—perhaps an unusual feature on such occasions—it has made no requests. You have thus made my task easy, and I gladly and gratefully acknowledge your whole-hearted expression of loyalty to Government, which rests as I feel well assured upon the secure foundation of loyalty to the King-Emperor, whose representative and servant I have the honour to be, and whose present illness has thrown so dark a shadow over our thoughts, and for whose recovery we so constantly pray.

The loyalty of your class, Gentlemen, whether in Bengal or elsewhere in India is indeed one of the most valuable assets that Government can have. For you include among your number many who must, in virtue of the traditions they inherit or of the position they to-day occupy, be the natural leaders of the people : and thus the extent to which they can make their own spirit of loyalty effective will largely depend upon their power to win the affections and command the trust of those dependent on them for their livelihood and progress. For your position as you no doubt recognise involves definite responsibilities towards your tenantry as well as towards the State, and there can be no doubt that large land-owners have it in their power to do service to Government of a character which it lies with no other community to perform—to secure and maintain that surest

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

of all foundations for a country's stability, a prosperous and contented agricultural population. And I am glad therefore to have your assurance that you are determined to preserve the best relations between yourselves and your tenants. I have followed the course of a good deal of legislation in various Provinces designed to regulate these relations, and I observe that the Legislative Council of Bengal at their last session passed a Bill which has, I understand, been accepted by both landlords and tenants and by the public generally as a fair compromise between the claims of both parties. While substantial provisions have been made in it towards defining, securing and adding to the rights of raiyats and under-raiyats, reasonable safeguards appear to have been retained as regards the landlords' rights. I am therefore glad to learn from your address that you consider relations between landlords and tenants in Bengal are likely to preserve that cordiality which can only come from a spirit of mutual trust and co-operation on both sides, and which is essential for success in the industry by which both parties alike subsist.

Gentlemen, I am repeating what I have said on other occasions such as this, when I assure you of my earnest desire to assist in any way that may be possible in the increase of the agricultural welfare of India. You may rely upon me and on my Government to relax no efforts that it may be in our power to make towards the promotion of this purpose. At this moment my advice to you is to study and apply the valuable recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which will, I am confident, in the fulness of time do much for the lasting prosperity of the country. They have approached a problem that is largely technical and scientific on very practical lines, and I venture to say that there is no land-owner who will not benefit by making their report his text book, for it contains the wisdom of experts and,

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

in its volumes of recorded evidence, enshrines the experience of a class to whom experience means their daily bread.

I thank you once more, Gentlemen, for welcoming me thus, and I say good-bye with all good wishes for your welfare, for the long life of your Association, and for the increased prosperity of the great interest which you represent.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSO-
CIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF INDIA
AND CEYLON.

17th Decem- His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Annual General
ber 1928. Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and
Ceylon in Calcutta on the 17th December with the following
speech :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to find myself once more taking part in the General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, for I have pleasant recollections of a similar occasion at Cawnpore two years ago when I was last privileged to address your members. Sir George Godfrey has given expression to the anxiety we feel, and which all races and creeds in India feel, at the continued illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor. That anxiety has given unmistakable proof of the affection and loyalty which the whole heart of India feels for the person of the Crown, and I think that future historians will remark on it as one of the most striking facts in the history of our times that in the days of modern democracy the feeling of loyalty and devotion to the Crown continues with unabated strength and on the secure foundation of admiration and affection for the personality of our beloved Monarch. A Viceroy does not get as many chances as he would wish of meeting representatives of the great commercial life of India, and one of the chief advantages

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

and pleasures, as I see it, of his visits to Calcutta is that he is able to meet so many businessmen on their own ground, and perhaps get a more direct insight into the realities of commercial problems than is possible in what you may not improbably consider the somewhat academic atmosphere of Simla and Delhi.

But you may be sure that these matters are never very far from my thoughts, for I know well that the course of Indian trade is to a large degree an index to the welfare of a great proportion of the population of this country. The Associated Chambers are intimately concerned with all that affects the prosperity of India, and it is gratifying to have their assurance of all support and assistance to the Statutory Commission on whose present labours the future welfare of India so intimately depends.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the trade statistics of the past year is that, for the first time since the outbreak of the Great War, the total volume of trade reached, and just passed, the figure of 1913-14. The value of both imports and exports, as expressed in rupees, has of course very materially increased, but, calculated at the price level obtaining at the outbreak of war, the total trade would, last year, have been 429 crores of rupees as compared with 427 in 1913-14. The figures for the first six months of the present year moreover show a further improvement on those for the corresponding period in the past two years, in spite of the fact that in some trades, such as the rice trade, there has been a set-back. The general position therefore gives good ground for sober optimism, and, although the comparative failure of the monsoon in some parts of India has caused anxiety, the position has been improved by favourable autumn rains, and the crop forecasts for India as a whole are now generally fair.

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

The anxiety with which we annually watch the course of the monsoon reflects the dependence of India's commerce upon India's agriculture, and I appreciate from what you have just said, Mr. President, how clearly the Associated Chambers realise this truth. I know that everyone will echo the hope you have just expressed that, as a result of the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, there will be a vigorous effort to develop India's agricultural strength.

The essential interdependence of agriculture, commerce and industry is now generally recognised, and was accepted as an economic principle at the World Economic Conference at Geneva last year, at which the Indian delegation included a distinguished *ex-President* of the Associated Chambers, Sir Campbell Rhodes. The importance of Indian Agriculture in world economics was especially recognised by the appointment of another member of the Indian delegation, Dr. Hyder, to be Vice-Chairman of the Agricultural Committee of the Conference.

As you have said, Mr. President, it is not for all busy men to read and digest from cover to cover the able and comprehensive Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. It is hardly one of those pocket series which you can carry about with you and dip into at odd moments. But you are no doubt aware that last October the Government of India convened a conference of representatives from all the Provinces in order to secure prompt and fruitful examination by all the Governments concerned of the more important recommendations made by the Commission. The Conference which was attended by Hon'ble Ministers for Agriculture from seven Provinces was a conspicuous success and augurs well for the realisation of the hope which Sir George Godfrey has expressed.

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

So far my Government have been engaged in considering ways and means to carry out what the Commission regarded as of first importance—the establishment of an Agricultural Research Council; and we have made sufficient progress with this proposal to be able to hope that Government's decision in regard to it will be announced early next year. There are many other important recommendations. Many of you will no doubt have observed what stress the Report laid on the importance of improved methods of marketing the produce of India. After pointing to the flaws inherent in the present system and to the educative effect and beneficial reaction which well-regulated markets will have upon the producer, the report makes several valuable suggestions as to how this can be carried into effect. I will not trouble you with details, for I expect the Commission's conclusions are already familiar to many of you, but I notice that the Commission gave as their considered opinion that organised Trade Associations in India could give great assistance in raising the standard of markets, and I need hardly point out how usefully the Associated Chambers of Commerce can both help India and help themselves by co-operating in the development of improved methods of marketing.

Some observations on this topic have, I see, been recently made in the report of the Indian Trade Commissioner on the trade of the last two years. In an analysis of modern trade tendencies and their application to India's export trade, Mr. Lindsay, after giving it as his opinion that the confidence, which was rudely shaken by post-war conditions, is gradually returning to the commercial world, remarks on two points which are at the moment specially pertinent to Indian trade. In the first place, he points out that greater attention is paid now, than before the war, to the *quality* of goods offered for sale, and, secondly, that

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

India's principal exports have to meet growing competition both from increased production in other tropical and sub-tropical countries and from synthetic substitutes. I feel little doubt that it is by organised marketing and grading, in agricultural and all other products, that India will keep her place in the world's market and retain the confidence of the foreign consumer.

I therefore particularly welcome the Chambers' willingness, to which the President has just referred, to accept the recommendation of the Agricultural Commission that a Jute Committee should be formed to watch over the interests of all branches of the trade from the field to the factory. In parenthesis, I think I am bound to defend the long-suffering race of Finance Members—whose latest representative we are all glad to welcome here to-day—from the charge of such adamant hardness of heart as your President has brought against them. He will I have no doubt lay to heart the remarks the President has made which more particularly concern his administration. But to return to my main argument. The Commission gave it as their considered opinion that, if jute wishes to preserve its present position, it is essential every effort should be made to improve the quality, outturn methods of manufacture, and to maintain the relative cheapness of jute as compared with other fibres. It is satisfactory therefore that the Associated Chambers should in this important matter find themselves in agreement with the recommendation of the Commission.

At the same time in some quarters there seems to be a certain apathy about marketing and grading, and a disinclination to believe that present methods could be improved. It is dangerous to ignore what is being done in other countries, and there is much food for reflection in an article which I saw recently in an Italian commercial paper

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

on the rice industry in that country. It has, as you know, been often enough complained in the last few months that the export trade in rice is seriously depressed ; and one of the reasons for depression has been admitted to be increased competition from Italy and other countries. The article I have spoken of shows that exports of rice from Italy have risen from 86,000 metric tons in 1923 to 260,000 in 1927 ; and this remarkable increase is attributed largely to improved methods of marketing and grading. The price fetched by Italian rice in the London market last September was 17 shillings per cwt. as compared with 12s. 7½d. for Burma rice.

Now you have had recent experience of the value of grading for export in the success of the Coal Grading Board, which was constituted at the beginning of 1926 on the recommendation of Mr. Noyce's Committee. Since then the total shipments from Kidderpore docks for cargo and bunker have risen steadily from 1½ million tons in 1924-25 to nearly 3½ million tons last year. It would seem that here we have an example which other industries might usefully follow.

Some of you may remember that two years ago at Cawnpore I referred to the possibility of extending the system of small cesses, and of thus financing organisations to look after the interests of the trades concerned. You have probably seen that a recommendation to this effect has been made by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. They held that such cesses should in their view be imposed only with the consent and at the instance of the trade, and they laid it down that ordinarily the trade concerned should provide all the funds required for its own committee. It is I think legitimate to hope that the various trades will seriously consider the desirability of extending a system which has already been adopted with satisfactory results

Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

by the tea, shellac and cotton trades. Proposals for a cess on hides are now being considered by the Government, and it is worth noting the opinion of the Indian Trade Commissioner, in the report to which I have just referred, that the position of this important trade in the world's market would undoubtedly be strengthened if the standard of Indian hides could be improved, and particularly if measures could be taken to avoid defects in flaying.

Before I leave the subjects on which the Agricultural Commission has given us such valuable advice, I must say one word on the subject of communications. The Commission in their report laid great stress upon the need for efficient communications, which seemed to them to have been more potent than any other factor in bringing about the change from subsistence farming to the growing of money crops. As they pointed out, good markets are of little help to the cultivator unless he can transport his produce to them cheaply and promptly, and, as I think I said at Cawnpore two years ago, the Government's first and most important duty to industry and commerce is the development of communications.

I need not elaborate what Government have done and are doing to develop Railway communication in various parts of India, but, as this is the first public opportunity I have had of doing so since his retirement, I should like to pay a tribute to the invaluable work which Sir Clement Hindley has performed during his tenure of the office of Chief Commissioner of Railways. His name will be remembered as one of the greatest Railway administrators that India has known, and the country is poorer for his loss.

Road communications too have claimed our serious attention. You will remember that a resolution on the subject of the development of roads and motor transport was carried at the Cawnpore meeting of the Associated

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

Chambers in 1926. The matter was subsequently discussed in the Legislature, and a Committee, consisting of Members of both Houses, was appointed in November 1927 to consider the desirability of developing the road system of India and in particular the means by which development could be co-ordinated and financed. The Committee, over which Mr. Jayakar presided and of which Sir Arthur Froom was a valuable member, has submitted a unanimous report, which has recently been published and is now being considered by the Government of India in consultation with the Local Governments. At this stage, beyond recognising as I gladly do the very valuable aid that the Committee has rendered, it would not be in order for me to express any opinion on their detailed recommendations. I have no doubt that their labours will help to guide and accelerate road development in India to meet, in particular, the new conditions which are being created by the rapid growth of motor transport.

There have too been important developments in the further link in India's communications—I refer to ports and harbours—and it is a great pleasure to me that before I leave Calcutta I am to have the honour of opening the King George's dock which is about to take its place among the largest harbour works in the world.

You may remember that two years ago at Cawnpore I referred to certain legislation which was in contemplation for centralising the administration of the mercantile marine. That legislation has now been passed and the technical staff of the Government of India is expected to arrive in India shortly. It is intended that the details of the transfer from the Local Governments should be arranged during the present cold weather, and the new Acts be brought into force on the 1st of April 1929.

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

On the same occasion I spoke of a question of vital concern to Indian shipping, the question of its *personnel*, and the natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. To help to meet this claim the "Dufferin" training ship was established, and I should like to acknowledge the assistance of British Shipping Companies in helping to start the ship and the interest that their representatives take as Members of the Governing Body. It is also a cause for great satisfaction that Shipping Companies should have shown themselves so willing to take Dufferin cadets as apprentices, and I earnestly trust that Indian cadets will prove their capacity and will eventually find employment by companies which have given them their prentice training.

We have heard during recent months not a little about economic discrimination between races in India, and point was given to these apprehensions by a private Bill which was introduced into the Assembly last session. I am not one of those who see in such discrimination any possible solution of the problems which now beset India's growth, for the interests of all the communities which compose the population of India to-day are far too intermingled to allow of separatist treatment.

Nor am I in favour of speeding up the development of Indian enterprise by the heroic—I might even say dangerous—methods advocated in the Bill. But it is only fair to recognise that there is another side to the question. The British Steamship Companies have built up by their merit and enterprise a wonderfully efficient service in Indian waters, but it is only natural that the Indian should be acutely conscious of the fact that the great bulk even of the coasting trade of India is not in the hands of Companies registered in India and is not served by steamers registered in India, and that an Indian Mercantile Marine hardly

*Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon.*

exists. Sentiments of course plays an important part even in purely economic matters, and this remark is particularly true of India at the present time. Moreover we have to remember that modern developments of shipping policy and practice make it difficult for Indian enterprise, unaided, to secure a share of the trade. Heaven forbid that I should embroil myself in the vexed questions of shipping rings, Liners' Conferences and deferred rebates. I merely note the fact that, whatever economic justification there may be for such developments, they make it difficult for a new Company to cut in, and it is not surprising in these circumstances that Indian capitalists should wish to invoke the aid of the legislature. But I think that I am correct in saying that the main impulse behind the Bill I have referred to is not a mere desire to secure for Indian capitalists the profits which now are made by British Companies. Rather it is an ambition—and who shall say that it is an unworthy ambition—that India should have its own Mercantile Marine and that the ships of that Mercantile Marine should be officered as well as manned by Indians. The problem then as I see it is whether we can help India to realise this ambition without resort to methods of confiscation, and I should like you to regard it from this point of view. State in this way the problem may be less difficult. I hope indeed that a solution may be found in a spirit of co-operation and good-will, and I commend this to your consideration. For, as the political progress of India seems to me the logical and necessary outcome of the political genius of the English people, so should British and Indian industry and commerce work together, as allies rather than antagonists, for India's commercial and industrial advancement.

On one or two other questions raised in your speech, Mr. President, I would say a brief word. With regard to

Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.

concessions in respect of the Provident Funds of private firms, I can assure you that the opinion which you have voiced to-day will be carefully considered in conjunction with the views expressed by the Local Governments who have recently been consulted. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the wider range of concessions for which you ask is one with which the Local Governments are concerned, and that it might be well for your body to urge their views upon the Local Governments in the first instance. You questioned too, Mr. President, whether there was any likelihood of a reduction in Central taxation combined with increased taxation for the Provinces. This would obviously be difficult of attainment, but the possibility of trade being so stimulated by reduced taxation as to improve the state of public finances generally is a matter which will certainly be studied very carefully by the Commerce and Finance Departments. I know that in such matters you need never doubt that all the experience and sympathy of my colleagues Sir George Rainy and Sir George Schuster will be at your command. The question of an enquiry into banking too is one that Sir George Schuster is now applying himself to, and he will be glad, if you desire it, to discuss the matter in greater detail with a delegation of your Chambers.

There are other important topics on which I would have said something had time and your patience permitted, such as the position of employers and labour to which you, Mr. President, have referred. I shall hope to have the opportunity of mentioning some of them when I meet the Indian Federated Chambers towards the end of this month. In the meantime, Gentlemen, I wish to offer you all my good wishes for the coming year, and an assurance of my continued interest in the welfare and in all the activities of your great Association.

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION DINNER.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Dinner given by the European Association at Calcutta on the 17th December :—

17th Decem-
ber 1928.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I must begin by expressing my own thanks and Lady Irwin's for the kindness which your Association have shown us in inviting us here to-night, and for what you have said about myself. It was a cause of very great regret to us both that a malevolent and malarial, but unknown, mosquito should have prevented us from coming to Calcutta and enjoying your promised hospitality this time last year. That this default on my part should have also compelled your members and guests to forego a dinner under these auspices provides an additional, and, if possible, more serious, cause of self-reproach. But some of you, I expect, thought that it served me right for dallying in a rival city on the west coast of India when I ought to have been on my way to Calcutta. There is, however, one recompense for my failure last year—that Calcutta seems all the more attractive and enjoyable after two years' absence, and it is a real pleasure to us to be here once more in one of the most hospitable cities of the world, and to have the opportunity of meeting as we do to-night so many representatives of the great non-official life of India.

Before I turn to any other topics, I should wish to associate myself with a reference that you, Sir, have made to those three losses, gravely impoverishing Indian life, that death has inflicted upon us during recent months.

With Lord Sinha my acquaintance was only slight, but it had sufficed to convince me of the quality of his character and mind, which had deservedly won for him, irrespective of party attachments, the affectionate respect of his fellow-countrymen.

With Sir Alexander Muddiman and Mr. Das, who were I think frequently guests on this occasion, I had of

European Association Dinner.

course worked on close terms of intimacy and almost daily collaboration ever since I came to India. That experience had led me to place a high value upon their comradeship and counsel, and to feel happy in the reflection that, in their several spheres, India might normally expect to have the advantage of their service for many years. But Providence had decreed otherwise, and their departure, still in the full vigour of comparative youth, has left India, as it has left their friends, the poorer.

The range of the speech which your President has just delivered has offered me a wide choice of topics, and the matters to which he has referred are of close concern to Government no less than to your Association. I have read with interest the memorandum recently presented by your Association to the Statutory Commission, in which you graphically describe the community you represent as the direct descendants of the English merchants, who in 1612 settled at Surat under a *Firman* from the Moghal Court, later on in Madras, and then in Bombay and in Calcutta. You have in truth a great history, great traditions and a great experience behind you, and I remember that when I was your guest here two years ago I spoke of the special contribution which the Members of your Association could bring to the political life of India, a contribution such as India can, I think, find from no other quarter. I hardly thought then that, when I next met your Association, we should find ourselves in the midst of an enquiry, which is fraught with such momentous consequences to the future of India ; and I recognise in the memorandum to which I have alluded the proofs of the careful thought and study, which have gone to the preparation of your comprehensive document.

A remark which you made, Mr. President, to the effect that your Association has always believed in a Parliamentary Commission reminds me of more than one passage

European Association Dinner.

in a book of that great pioneer of Indian constitutional reform—the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea,—entitled “A Nation in making”, which I happened to be reading the other day. He there makes it very clear that he had always anticipated that the body to which would be remitted the task contemplated by Parliament would be a Parliamentary Commission. I merely mention this in passing to show that a man who enjoyed the respect of every community in India took a very different view of the appointment of a purely Parliamentary body from that adopted by a good deal of Indian political opinion. I am sure that all sober-minded citizens of India must have witnessed with regret, and will condemn, the continued attempts to conduct unmannerly and offensive demonstrations against the Commission and their Indian colleagues. I can understand the attitude of those who, following the hitherto established tradition of boycott, prefer to hold themselves rigidly aloof from the Commission’s investigation. I have often expressed my view that such a policy is mistaken and short-sighted; and ill-designed to convince Parliament of the justice of India’s claim. But to substitute for this policy of abstention the procedure of noisy and dangerous public demonstration against the chosen representatives of Parliament and their colleagues is to exchange what might have been a dignified protest of responsible persons for the methods of disorderly disturbance of a mob.

The Commission and Indian Committees are discharging a function, which has been laid upon them by duly constituted authority, and which must involve for any great personal sacrifice. And the first and most difficult lesson that citizens of any actual or potential democracy have to learn is to train themselves to believe that people with whom they disagree may be guided by motives not less worthy than their own.

European Association Dinner.

The experience of the last two or three weeks makes it quite plain that, however much those who organise such demonstrations may themselves deprecate violence, they are when it comes to the point often quite incapable of controlling the forces they have excited, even where they are not themselves anxious, as has been the case on one or two occasions, to make active trouble. What is advertised as a peaceful demonstration may rapidly become something very different, and those who deliberately embark on a course so crude, so senseless, and so dangerous—whatever the object they may mistakenly desire to serve—incur a very heavy responsibility. In such circumstances it is the plain duty of Government to take whatever steps it deems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditable incidents. The Commission wisely guided by Sir John Simon has already made it plain that it has no other desire but to render a faithful account to Parliament of India's aspirations, and of the conditions under which it is sought to bring these to fruition. They are fortunate in having the assistance of colleagues from India, among whom one of your representatives, Sir Arthur Froom, has all the qualities requisite to make him a worthy representative of European interests. It would obviously be out of place for me at this stage to venture an opinion either on your memorandum, or on any of the many other valuable papers which have been prepared by official and non-official bodies or by individuals. That, as you have suggested, would be perilously near contempt of court, and I have too great a respect for Sir John Simon's talents to be willing to risk being prosecuted by him on this or on any other charge. But I know that your views will receive the close attention they deserve, and I can promise you that for my part I shall always give them very full and sympathetic consideration.

Constitution-making must always be a delicate task—though from the number that have been raining round

European Association Dinner.

us one might be tempted to think otherwise—and no two people are likely to find themselves in agreement on every point. But at any rate a constitution must be made to fit the facts, and is not a thing to be laid down *a priori* in the hope that the facts will somehow or other fit themselves in behind. You may remember the reply of the old lady to the exasperated bootmaker, who after many vain attempts to meet her requirements was driven in desperation to say that, if her feet were less awkwardly shaped, it would be easier for him to find a pair of shoes to fit : “ I expect you ” she said “ to make a pair of shoes to fit my feet. I’m not going to pare down my feet to fit your shoes ”. And, as you say in your memorandum, there is nothing to be gained—in fact everything to be lost—by minimising the difficulties inherent in the problem. There is, however, everything to be gained by facing those difficulties in mutual effort and with the will to solve them, and I take pleasure in acknowledging the assurance, with which your memorandum closes, of the genuine good-will of the British community towards India’s political progress. There is no use pretending that the different classes, the different communities, the different races in India will not have different interests and different standards. But in such disagreement there is nothing unhealthy or unnatural. If interests clash, it does not mean that one set of interests is to be swept away or that one community need smother its individuality to suit the whole. Each has its own good qualities, its own ideals to pursue, its own functions to perform, its own rights to maintain ; but each should be capable of self-realisation in its own sphere, and at the same time of taking its own place in the whole scheme of the national life.

You, Sir, have referred to the movement recently undertaken in certain quarters in India on behalf of the policy of complete and total independence, and I notice

European Association Dinner.

that it has been officially asserted by a recognised political organisation that India can enjoy no liberty unless and until the British connection is entirely severed. Both your Governor and the Governor of the United Provinces have recently made certain observations on this subject with which I found myself in complete agreement and to which I need add but little. Indian nationalists have constantly attacked, condemned or misrepresented those whom they alleged through excessive caution to be adopting an unfriendly attitude towards India's aspirations. I make bold to say that the most bitter and confirmed reactionary would never have it in his power to inflict one-tenth of the damage upon India's cause that it is likely to suffer at the hands of its false friends, who would guide it towards the morass of independence. If it is necessary, as it clearly is, for India to raise her national life on a foundation of true national unity, what greater disservice can any persons render to her than by bending all their energies to destroy that which is to-day the principal factor of unity throughout the Indian Peninsula? Of the unifying influences that make for nationhood, I make bold to say that the most important in the life of India to-day, viewed as a single entity throughout the whole wide extent and variety of what her name comprises, are these. First she is a geographic unit, all parts of which it may be said share a broad economic interest. Secondly, and more powerful, is the common loyalty to the Person and Throne of the King-Emperor. During these latter days we have been able to measure the affection which binds the King-Emperor to the hearts of all his people, as from every quarter of his dominions thoughts have turned together in sympathy, anxiety and prayer to his long struggle with an exhausting illness. And, as that loyalty is the bond of union between the several peoples of different countries, so in India it is shared by Hindu and Moslem, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, Punjabi and Madrassi, British India and Indian States.

European Association Dinner.

Destroy that, and you have, by violating the most cherished sentiment of millions, erected an enduring and insuperable barrier to the achievement of a free India nationhood. Truly then could India say that her wounds were those with which she was wounded in the house of her friends.

It is not difficult to forecast what must be the reaction upon British opinion of this assertion of independence as the goal of a great political party by persons who would claim the title of responsible politicians. Those in Great Britain, who sympathise most warmly with the ideal of India attaining at the earliest possible moment the status of any of the other great Dominions of the Crown, will find the ground cut from their feet if British opinion ever becomes convinced, as some apparently are now endeavouring to convince it, that so-called Dominion Status was only valued by India as a stepping-stone to a complete severance of her connection with the British Commonwealth.

From the point of view therefore alike of its effect upon Indian unity and public opinion of Great Britain, I can feel no doubt that the demand for independence must do an irreparable injury to India's cause, and sadden the hearts of the wiser of India's sons and friends. Is it too much to hope that on an issue of this kind, which is too grave to be resolved by verbal formulas or mental reservations, those, who can appreciate the implications and issues of such a policy, should in unequivocal terms warn their countrymen against it ?

But it is not only on the political side of her life that India is at present invited to follow the advice of evil counsellors. You have just referred, Mr. President, to the grave damage recently wrought by industrial strife and to the particular aspect of it which lately has been the most disturbing of all—I mean the part which communist activities have taken in its promotion.

European Association Dinner.

It is not my purpose at this time to examine in detail the results that have emerged, where the experiment has been made, from the application of communist philosophy. I would rather invite you for a moment or two to consider the general principles on which that philosophy is founded, and the nature of the forces to which it must inevitably appeal.

Any society is made up of a collection of individuals, and human life as we know it is founded upon a harmony that is established between the claims of the individual and those of the society of which he is a component part. Each has its claims, and a well-ordered society is that in which the respective claims are duly reconciled in just balance and proportion. Thus, whatever it may from time to time be necessary to do in order to protect the general life and interest of society from the actions of selfish and irresponsible individuals, we shall very certainly fail if we permit ourselves to forget that individual personality is the strongest and the most securely rooted element in all human nature.

Now, on the material side, communism, by denial of the right of property, denies what is in fact the natural expression of personality and in so doing runs counter to the first human principle. For no man whatever his circumstances will feel any great incentive to work to-day unless he has some assurance that he will enjoy the fruit of his toil to-morrow. On the spiritual side also, communism must inevitably find itself in direct and immediate conflict with many of the principles by which the best of human life is guided and inspired. For in the gospel of hate, which communism finds itself in practice compelled to preach, there can be little room for generosity, or charity, or self-sacrifice, or finally for religion itself.

European Association Dinner.

The implications of such a philosophy in India are not remote. India as much as, or perhaps more than, any country in the world has constructed her life upon the framework of property and social custom and distinction. There are no doubt many respects in regard to all these, where a more enlightened opinion is seeking, and will more and more insist upon, reform. But reform is one thing and revolution is another ; and let no man be under any delusion as to the price India would pay in her inherited and traditional life for such a revolution if it were ever unhappily effected within her boundaries.

Now your Association—as all others which have a stake in the orderly progress of Indian life—cannot afford to be unconcerned with any such threats to the stability of established institutions, and, as you have remarked, this question has recently been engaging the serious attention of Government. And, but for the very human lapse to which you have referred, certain legislation on the subject would have been carried through the Assembly last session. If it is of any comfort to those concerned, by way of parenthesis, I may perhaps recall an occasion in the House of Commons in which a certain member and his friend were absent and were responsible for placing Government in a minority of two votes. I have to confess that I was one of the members concerned and I remember very well that my explanation of this regrettable incident seemed less convincing to the Government Whip than I should have desired. But of course I agree with you, Mr. President, as to the importance of the Leader of the House keeping in the closest touch with the elements which are prepared to give general support to Government in the House, and I can assure you that the present Home Member will be anxious to do everything he can to establish and maintain this contact. Legislation however can treat only the symptoms and will not of

European Association Dinner.

itself remove the root cause of the disease. For communism takes its origin in social conditions, and will always find out the weak spot in which to flourish, as noxious weeds will readily find the soil best suited to their growth. And, as it will generally find its attack easiest on crowded industrial populations, it is here we have to make our first stand against it. Communism will not hesitate to manufacture grievances where they do not exist, but unless it can lay its finger on real injustice it is not likely to succeed. And much can be done in any country to counter such an attack by employers keeping in close personal touch with those they employ, and seeing that their wages and conditions of life are reasonable. If we are to fight communism successfully, it will be by employers and Governments giving cause to the masses to believe that they—and not communists—are the true friends of labour. We must make it plain that even the most philanthropic communist that ever sought to loose the whirlwind of revolution enjoys no monopoly of the desire to improve conditions, and that progressive employers can offer a more excellent way by which this may be accomplished. From this point of view, if from no other, it is the duty of all employers whether public or private to remember that the workman is a human being both before he enters the factory and after he leaves it, and that only the industrial system, which is careful always to recognise this human side of its business, can expect to meet with confidence the challenge of these disruptive influences.

In many directions, Gentlemen, these are difficult times, and it is not in the nature of things that we should escape sharp set-backs and disappointments, as we work for the building of the India of the future. But it must be our endeavour to keep our compass set firm upon the course we mean to steer towards the goal, refusing as good navigators to allow ourselves to be deflected from that

Rotary Club Luncheon.

course by the currents and the storms that we shall assuredly encounter. If the ship of India's fortunes is to reach harbour safely, it will require the best and the united efforts of all her crew. And I have no doubt that your Association, tempering enthusiasm with prudence, and recognising the necessity in an imperfect world of attaining to our ideals through the gradual solution of many practical difficulties, will give freely of your experience and judgment to the great task on which we are all engaged.

ROTARY CLUB LUNCHEON.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the 18th December Luncheon given by the Rotary Club in Calcutta on the 18th December 1928.
December :—

Rotarian Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must first thank you very much for the kind invitation from the Rotary Club which brings me among you to-day. I appreciate that it is no small honour to be asked to address the members of a Rotary Club and thus be enabled to share for the time being in a movement which has taken so firm a hold on thoughtful men in many countries. Rotary is now a world organisation, and the mainspring of the movement, and that which has been instrumental in winning for it the influence that it holds, is the fact that it has become one of the assembly grounds for those who desire to join hands for the betterment of the human race. Such an ambition, fortunately for the world, has always existed, and it is natural enough that men should have devoted much intellectual energy to the question of what are the governing qualities of human nature, by which the achievement of such a purpose is presumably conditioned. On this matter human judgment has tended to fall into different schools. One of these has sought to found itself upon a firm and unshakeable belief in the good qualities and

Rotary Club Luncheon.

endowments of human nature. Where human nature has gone astray, it has been, so it would be said, invariably due to the attempt to smother its natural and beneficent impulses beneath artificial traditions, conventions, control of governments and the rest. And thus, given this insensate interference with a mechanism designed to be free because it had in it something of the divine, there is no more ground for surprise that human nature should have gone astray than there would be at the result of a child's ignorant tampering with the delicate workings of a watch.

But, according to others, the explanation of man's development is very different. Human progress, as they see it, has from the beginning of time been slow, painful and laborious, and, so far from having been the automatic sequence of human nature, has been won only by sustained effort and is to-day held by none too secure a tenure.

The disciples of this school can truly point to many directions and occasions in the everyday-life of the world in which we are reminded that primitive savagery lies not far beneath the surface of civilisation. Confront man face to face with a naked challenge to life, or to something that he holds as dear, and you will soon see, say they, to what an extent civilisation in spite of the centuries remains a veneer concealing primeval, elemental instincts. And therefore they conclude that human nature wants all the help it can from the best of tradition and of convention, which are but signposts and guardfences to assist man to thread his way more safely through the shoals and quicksands with which his whole nature constantly surrounds him. So for its own protection, and guided by a wise instinct of self-preservation amid so many dangers, human nature has voluntarily bound itself in organic society in order the better to control the forces which might otherwise become ungovernable. Such an idea was stated in famous language by Burke, pondering on the French Revolution

Rotary Club Luncheon.

and yielding himself, through revolt at the license of thought and action that he there saw in operation, to almost religious reverence for a constitution that he knew. In the English political system he found the organic qualities he admired, when he described it as being in just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world—a body “wherein by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole at one time is never old, or middle aged or young, but in a condition of unchangeable constancy moves on through the varied tenour of perpetual decay, renovation and progression”.

The Jacobin would have been, and was, led to express it very differently. And, as frequently happens with such a controversy, and under the influence of the immediate struggle, the respective disputants found themselves unwittingly driven to some variation of their strict position. Thus the Jacobin, both of the French Revolution and later, who ought in political theory to have taken the most generous view of human nature, acted as if he thought much of it so irretrievably depraved that extinction was the only remedy, while Burke on the other hand, naturally less predisposed to exalt human nature, was impelled to defend the institutions that he thought vital for its protection, by endowing them with a quality of almost super-human excellence.

But between the extreme champions of natural human perfection and natural human depravity, from whatever ranks these were drawn, there is luckily a large middle ground where plain persons may find lodgment, leaving political philosophies to do their disputations as they will. For the world is a very composite place, and we are all too conscious of the admixture of motives operating in ourselves not to know that we must expect the same

Rotary Club Luncheon.

admixture in the aggregate of individuals which we call society. And after all the dividing line is a very fine one between the morally good and the morally reprehensible. A little excess of prudence and thrift and the man praised by his fellows as wisely economical is despised as a selfish and suspicious miser. Introduce a little personal temper or motive into a love of justice and you will not go far before you have created the demand of revenge. The anarchist professes a distorted patriotism, and throughout history crimes have been committed in the sacred name of liberty.

And therefore what becomes of interest to us is whether we can safely form any judgment about the general moral direction of the human race. Can we estimate whether the good or the bad is gaining ground as the struggle ebbs and flows? It is no easy appraisement to make, and I concern myself to-day only with the endeavour to indicate some of the evidence by which in the national and international sphere our judgment may be affected.

It is no doubt possible to give plenty of examples of the continued assertion of the primitive instincts of man. But I would record it as my emphatic opinion that those who would assert that human nature is unchanging, unchanged and unchangeable are the evangelists of a gospel of despair. Surely were we to adopt their creed we should rob ourselves of that which is at once the most powerful incentive and control in life. But, apart from this, I do not believe that history can be invoked to support any such conclusion. Let me take as illustrations two or three dominant instances by which the matter may be tried.

When Wilberforce was agitating for the abolition of slavery it will be remembered that his efforts were widely resisted on a variety of grounds. Slaves and the Slave Trade were good for the economic development of the

Rotary Club Luncheon.

West Indies ; the Slave Trade encouraged the Mercantile Marine, and so was favourable to the second line of the Navy ; the deportation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies brought them within the sphere of Christian influences ; all these arguments and many more were advanced in justification of the existing practice, and the degree to which they are happily remote from our thought to-day, as illustrated for example by the theory of mandates under the League of Nations, is the measure of the advance public opinion has made.

Or again, take the change that has come over social thought on such matters as the general obligations of wealth, the responsibilities of capital in regard to the labour that it employs, or the protection of women. It is not that evils—and grave evils—do not exist in our midst to-day ; but they do not exist without a wide public opinion being increasingly awake to their existence.

Lastly, take the question of war. I cannot doubt that as we look back over 100 or 150 years we see that the public opinion of the world upon the moral and ethical aspects of war has undergone a transformation. And, making all allowance for the fact that the outlook of our own generation has inevitably been coloured by personal experience, the establishment of the League of Nations and the signature of the Pact to be associated in history with the name of Mr. Kellogg seem to me two of the most notable examples of the working of mass opinion that we are ever likely to see.

On such evidence—and I think there is plenty more that one could adduce—I would assert that, so far from human nature remaining static, moral influences are every day gaining strength. It is of course certain that, human nature being what it is, we shall experience many setbacks. It is also of course true that the mass of mankind is too deeply engrossed in their own immediate problems

Calcutta Club Dinner.

of life to be able to see the big issues clear. At the same time those, who have the qualities or opportunity to see the vision of what might and ought to be, can count as ally one of the most natural qualities of all human nature. Every man is a worshipper at the shrine of some loyalty, which claims his affection and subconsciously inspires his love. It may be his family, his class, his creed, his home or what you will ; and the nature of its influence upon his own life and the life around him will depend upon whether the immediate loyalty that claims his allegiance is itself adjusted to something wider, for without this it may easily become a cramping and restrictive influence, where it ought to be a stimulating and ennobling inspiration. And thus the task of those who wish to serve their generation would seem in great part to be that of bringing all those loyalties—social, national, racial, religious and the rest—into the harmony which each demands for its full fruition, and which is necessary for the highest development of the life of man.

The Rotary Wheel, holding each spoke in just subordination to its own general fabric, preaches this permanent truth by way of parable. And it is because I know your Society throughout the world to be actuated by the principles for which your symbol stands that I count it a great privilege to have been your guest to-day.

CALCUTTA CLUB DINNER.

27th Decem- The following speech was delivered by H. E. the Viceroy
ber 1928. at the Calcutta Club Dinner on the 27th December :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Last year, greatly to my regret, I was prevented by illness from accepting the kind invitation of the members of this Club to dine with them, and my regret was all the greater because circumstances beyond my control compelled me to refuse their invitation

Calcutta Club Dinner.

in the previous year. Your President, however, was good enough to console me by promising that you would repeat the invitation this year, and it was with great satisfaction that I learned that this hospitable intention held good, and that I was really to have the pleasure of meeting you all to-night. For I have heard much of this Club and of the spirit of friendliness which pervades it. And this must extend beyond the premises of the Club, inasmuch as we all know that a clubman is as a rule severely critical of his fellow members, and, if the members of a Club appreciate each other within its walls, it is quite certain that they will do so outside.

Let me translate this reflection into wider terms. No one who allows his mind to play upon the dissensions which disturb the peace of the world to-day will deny the need of an extension of this Club spirit, which, translated into quite simple language, means that the members of such a Society realise the necessity of finding agreement with one another as an indispensable condition of their own happiness and utility. They recognise that, however, tempting it may be to assert some individual taste or preference, this, if persisted in, may well disintegrate the common life which the society is designed to foster and promote.

Thus, as I suggest, a Club such as this is a counterpart, in microcosm, of the great world outside. I know that it is an unwritten law of this Club that nothing of a controversial nature should be said on occasions such as to-night's, but I do not transgress this rule when I say that there is at the present time, as between class and class, nation and nation, race and race, a great demand for a liberal outpouring of this generous and health-growing spirit. In Great Britain and in India industrial life has been lately ranged in hostile camps of employer and employed, blinding the forces on each side to the essential community of

Calcutta Club Dinner.

interest that they shared, and inflicting both on themselves and the general public incalculable damage.

Here, as we know well, communal fears and discords have taken their heavy toll of life and property, and still stand, an ugly and sinister spectre, beside the table at which the several architects are seeking to draw the plans of India's destiny.

It is only a few years ago that the nations were locked in the life and death struggle of a war, of which the memories are to-day driving the world, with mingled feelings of idealism and fear, to leave no insurance unattempted against the risk of another such calamity.

On the widest field of all, the racial, it is a commonplace—but worth repeating—that on the quality of understanding which we can create among the great racial divisions of mankind depends not only the peace of India but the future of civilisation. “The clash of colour” is the epigrammatic title we give to this problem which is everywhere pressing its claims for wise solution. I do not propose to touch that point. But, given differences of race as one of the immutable facts, I think some of us are at times too apt to claim infallibility for our own race, and to have less sympathy than we might with the racial idiosyncracies of others. From the English side it may perhaps be traced in part to the insular position which has been so powerful a factor in the growth of the British nation. The abrupt cliffs of Dover prevent that shading off of racial differences which you often get between two countries with a common land frontier. But, whatever the cause may be, at the bottom of everything is the obvious difference of temperament of the two races. Different individuals and different peoples will naturally admire different things in human nature, and nations like individuals are more ready to criticise the shortcomings of

Calcutta Club Dinner.

others than their own. But I am quite sure that in the national character of both India and Great Britain there are characteristics peculiar to each which the other can, and at heart does, genuinely admire. I have been often struck by the real respect that British and Indian entertain for one another, and a host of private friendships dispel the idea that it is impossible for them to live together on terms of mutual regard and recognition of each other's merits.

At any rate the purpose we are now both concerned to promote is large enough to give work to all. The ideal of India's future has been proclaimed by many to be Dominion Status. This is not the occasion to examine the precise implications of the phrase in relation to others which have been employed to describe the goal to which India's feet are turned. And, whatever the title that may be employed, the spectacle, on which our imagination may play, of India along with the other self-governing Dominions freely bringing the wealth of her moral and material gifts into the service of a common society, for the betterment of human kind—surely this is a vision to entrance the most earth-bound and sluggish imagination, and there is surely here a reward, if we can but win it, for the noblest dreams of British or Indian patriot.

If India will take my word for it, the British Parliament and people will never default upon their expressed intention and purpose of striving to the uttermost to facilitate her growth. As I believe I have said before, the political genius of the British race has learnt to express itself in the form of free institutions, and it cannot easily lend its best efforts to any other form of political evolution. There are, of course, people who do not, and who never will, believe in the sincerity of these professions. On such persons argument is unavailing; and it is no doubt easier to adopt the attitude of saying that the

Calcutta Club Dinner.

British connexion is entirely responsible for the difficulties attending the birth of the Indian nation, than it is to get down to the practical task of finding a permanent and agreed solution for them.

But, after all, the history of many peoples and times should teach the impartial student how tender a plant is nationhood—and how much more stubborn have been internal obstructions to its growth than any which have arisen from causes or circumstances without. Let us look at Great Britain's own record and see how she was torn by civil strife, in dynastic, religious or constitutional struggles, through the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. In varying degrees the Dominions have known something of the difficulties that befall India, in differences of race and religious creed. But baffling as these were, they were seldom equal in intensity or extent to their Indian counterpart ; and were not infrequently discounted to a far greater degree than prevails in India by other factors which favoured unity. The partition of Ireland still testifies to the power of religion as the greatest divider, as well as the greatest uniter of men.

Among foreign nations, it was only through the furnace of a bitter civil war that American nationhood was protected and finally secured. Up to the time of her collapse as a great European power, Austria-Hungary never succeeded in welding her different peoples and races into a single national unity.

It is not necessary to multiply instances, but it is scarcely possible in the light of so world-wide an experience, due to no malign foreign influence, to maintain with conviction the thesis that, if there were no political connexion between Great Britain and India, the path of India's progress towards orderly self-government would not be beset by any of those domestic dragons which have made their presence felt elsewhere.

Calcutta Club Dinner.

For what are the principal foundations on which those who build nationhood have been wont to rear their edifice ? I suppose they are community of Race, tradition, culture, language, religion, geography and economic interest, and last, and perhaps most powerful, a common centre and object of national loyalty. Of these it is plainly true that, divided in race and all the inherited associations of race as expressed in tradition and culture, divided in religion, knowing no national language, India must rely to-day principally upon the unifying force of geography and economic interest, and upon the common loyalty that all her parts owe to the person of the Crown. I doubt whether we can easily over-estimate the importance of this personal devotion to the Sovereign in British India, just as it has always been the principle most fervently held and acted upon by the Rulers of the Indian States.

And yet it is at the very moment when the most ardent of India's sons are anxious to mould her into true unity that some are misguided enough to advise her to throw away one of her all too few possessions that favour unity, by counting lightly her loyalty to the King-Emperor. Surely it is evident that leaving aside all else that might be said, the only result of such a gospel, violating as it does the consciences and hearts of men, must be to introduce yet one further, and the gravest, impediment to Indian unity.

And this brings me back to the point to which I referred earlier in my speech. On such lines of erecting barricades between the races no solution will ever be found. The more excellent way is that each race should seek, in things great and small alike, to judge the other as it would itself be judged, and endeavour so to understand the thoughts and words and deeds of the other, as it would desire its own to be understood. Our difficulties are not

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

unnatural, for between nations or races, as between individuals, when one temperament meets another inherently different, it is inevitable that friction should occasionally arise, and that we should be tempted to lose faith in one another. But the British and Indian communities of the 20th century will be judged in the 21st by the success or otherwise with which they have resisted or yielded to this temptation.

You will appreciate, Gentlemen, that I would not have said all this to you this evening if I had not seen that this Club is playing the part which I have indicated as being so essential for the blending of the different qualities of which I have tried to speak. I do not know whether any of you remember a picture in *Punch* not long ago of an inquisitive old lady, about to board a steamer, asking a sailor if he could tell her which end of the boat would start first. "Well mum", he replied "if all goes well both ends should start together". The example of that boat is one we may all with advantage follow.

Well, Gentlemen, I can only thank you once more for asking me to come here to-night. I shall leave the Club in good spirits; not only because I have enjoyed a good dinner and good company, but because I believe your Club to possess something that is of essential and abiding value in the life of India.

OPENING OF THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE FEDERATION OF INDIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

28th December 1928.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on the 28th December :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—At the outset I wish to echo the hopes expressed by Sir Purshotamdas that the

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

anxiety which we feel in regard to His Majesty the King-Emperor's health may soon be relieved. Though anxiety must still exist, our earnest prayer is that the slow progress which His Majesty is now making will be maintained and that it will not be long before that progress has been translated into a complete restoration to health. It will be my privilege to forward the message of sympathy, to which you have referred, to Her Majesty the Queen.

I know that I am speaking not only for myself, but for the other members of my Government who are here to-day, when I give expression to the pleasure we feel at being present at the deliberations of this Conference.

As you have said, Mr. President, your Federation is still in its infancy, and I heartily welcome the formation of an organization which will express the considered and authoritative opinion of Indian commercial and industrial interests, and facilitate consultation with the Government on all matters affecting the economic welfare of India. In a vast country like this it must frequently happen that measures which are pressed on the Government by such interests in one part of the country may be economically disadvantageous to other parts, and it is clearly, therefore, the more important that representatives from all quarters should meet together in an organisation such as you have formed, and learn to give and take in evolving a common policy for India's economic prosperity.

This diversity of conditions is reflected to some extent in the present trade outlook, for, although the progress of Indian trade is now generally more favourable, there are clouds over the rice, coal and cotton trades which darken the picture. Your President has referred to certain difficulties from which Indian trade is now suffering, and some of these, as he has said, are caused by the low prices which Indian produce obtains in the markets of the world. This

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

marketing, but it would hardly be correct to say that the Royal Commission on Agriculture has overlooked this point, for it has devoted an important chapter to the subject. The views and recommendations of the Commission are receiving the careful attention of the Government of India and of local Governments, but the root of the whole matter appears to be this : that there is no incentive to the primary producer to improve the quality of his produce, unless he is sure of an adequate premium for improved quality. Quality is now receiving increased attention in the world's markets, and commands substantially higher prices. Indian traders can give a powerful impetus to improved production by passing on a fair premium to the primary producer, and may thereby do much to increase the wealth of India generally, and of the agricultural classes in particular, on whose prosperity, as Sir Purshotamdas has said, the prosperity of the commercial and industrial classes themselves depends.

The Agricultural Commission has also stressed the value of organizations on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, on which your President has played so important a part. The success of any such organization must depend primarily on the initiative and energy of the trade concerned ; but the Government is willing to do what it can to encourage and assist, and in particular to enable any trade to finance its organization by undertaking at its instance legislation to impose a cess. Such organizations need not be limited to trades dealing in agricultural produce. We have recently consulted the Chambers on a proposal to impose such a cess on hides ; and it has been decided to appoint a small committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Meek, the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, to examine details. It is satisfactory too that the Indian Mining Federation should be contemplating an organization, financed by a cess, to improve the produc-

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

tion and popularize the use of domestic coke, and should be making an active endeavour to face the difficulties from which the coal industry is now suffering.

But trade organizations in India, if they are to be fully effective, require an "opposite number" in countries abroad, where their principal markets are, who can furnish them with continuous and up-to-date information on the standards of quality demanded, fluctuations in prices, tariffs, and trade regulations and other matters of importance to the Indian exporter; who can effect trade introductions, and smooth the way for Indian merchants visiting those countries; and who can investigate the potentialities of wider markets and opportunities for extending Indian trade. Indian merchants have not always agencies on whom they can rely in other countries, and here is a gap which can be at least partially filled by the appointment of Trade Commissioners. Mr. Lindsay and his assistants, Mr. Gupta and Mr. Asli, besides the valuable work they have done in England, have also been preparing the way for the location of permanent offices in other parts of Europe, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, who has already done much for Indian commerce during the tenure of his present office, has submitted proposals for the appointment of Trade Commissioners at Hamburg, Milan and New York. You will remember too that a Commercial Mission visited the Near East and Africa in the early part of this year, and in the course of their valuable report they have recommended the appointment of Trade Commissioners at Alexandria, Mombassa and Durban. These recommendations are now under review. I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the cordial welcome that our Mission received in South Africa and all the other countries they visited. This Mission, as you know, originated in the report of the Tariff Board on the Cotton Textile Industry, which laid emphasis on the fact that the development of an export trade was a matter of vital importance to the

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

Bombay mill industry. For many months this industry has been passing through difficult times. Production in Bombay has been stopped by labour troubles, and the output of cotton manufactures in India as a whole has consequently been seriously reduced. It is however a striking fact that, in spite of this fall in production, imports of cotton goods have been actually less for the first six months of this year than in the corresponding period of last year. The inability of foreign manufacturers to increase or even maintain their imports into India when production in Bombay had almost ceased suggests that the Bombay industry would not be assured of finding salvation by raising prices for the consumer through protective duties, and that the remedy must be sought elsewhere. The remedy is surely co-operation between employer and labour to reduce the cost of production. Here and in some other industries, India I think is reaching the stage when labour can economically earn the wages that it properly demands in order to raise its standard of living only by more efficient work. Indian industry can only hold its own against world competition by a combined effort—an effort by employers to reduce overhead charges, and by labour to increase the efficiency of its work.

In addressing an audience of businessmen, many of whom are large employers, I need make no apology for alluding to the conditions of industrial labour. India has not, of course, any more than other countries, been free from labour unrest in the past, but all of us must have observed, with very great concern and regret, the outbreak and continuance of labour troubles all over the country which has been so marked a feature of this past year. It is difficult for me to lay sufficient emphasis upon the appalling waste of resources, the set-back to general prosperity, the sufferings and privations of the innocent, the dangerous passions of class-hatred and mob-violence, which are the inevitable outcome of a series of conflicts between employer

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

and employed, such as have disfigured the industrial record of the present year in India. When I say that it has been reliably stated that in the first nine months of 1928 at least thirty million working days have been lost owing to trade disputes, and that the total loss in wages only on this score has been estimated at the gigantic figure of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees, I am still taking no account of the vastly greater losses of the employers of labour which, in the Bombay Mill Strike alone, have been computed at no less than fifteen crores of rupees. It is easy to picture to oneself what all this means when translated into privations of women and children, the ruin of family life, the arousing of passions which it is easier to set loose than to control. The organization of labour for its legitimate purposes is always to be welcomed ; but, if that organization is to be merely a weapon in the hands of men whose thoughts are often directed less to the true welfare of the labouring classes than to disturbance for unworthy ends, it is likely only to become a danger and menace to society instead of a source of strength to its own members. I would earnestly ask you to consider whether there is any action which you as employers and we as Government can take to prevent the recurrence of such a situation.

The conditions, under which Indian industrial labourers work, have come in for some severe criticism recently on the part of observers from outside. I am far from suggesting that all the comments of our temporary visitors have been justified, or made with a fair sense of proportion and appreciation of the difficulties peculiar to this country ; but an impartial survey of recent happenings in the industrial world has made me feel that we must all be prepared to join hands in the search for remedies that may promise relief from the present state of affairs. We shall all agree that a feeling of discontent and of injustice, if it exists, provides just the soil and atmosphere

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

necessary for the professional agitator, and for the even more insidious activities of those who, for reasons of their own, aim at the break up of the existing order of society. That such persons have been at work during the past year we all know. I am asking you to-day to co-operate with me in exploring means of action to meet their operations by removing, so far as lies within our power, the conditions which provide them with their opportunity, because here I feel sure that you as employers and we as Government can co-operate. For instance, we have recently placed before the country proposals which are designed to facilitate enquiry into, and settlement of, trade disputes by impartial tribunals. But the setting up of such machinery will not in itself be sufficient to eliminate industrial conflicts. It must be supplemented by action on the part both of employers and workers. In England, for example, much has been done to prevent disputes coming to a head through machinery set up within trades and industries by employers and workers themselves, so that the Government machinery for enquiry and settlement is regarded as the last line of defence, the final Court of Appeal to which in extreme cases only should reference be made. I have mentioned this specially as one example of the way in which more direct relations might be established between employers and labour. Since I came to India, I have been impressed by the fact that in some of the organized industries here the workman seems to be separated from the employer to a degree which is unknown in England. I recognise that this is no doubt the result, to some extent, of factors over which employers have little or no control, such as the illiteracy of the workman and in many cases the brevity of the period which he is prepared to devote to industrial pursuits. But it seems to me that there may be other obstacles more susceptible of removal, which come between employers and those for whose welfare they are responsible, and that possibly by the reduction in some cases of intermediaries

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

or, perhaps, by other methods, more direct relations by which the person of the employer might be brought into contact with the person of the man might be established.

In other matters also I suggest that we have something to learn from other countries. India, from the point of view of industry, is comparatively speaking a young country and we have, therefore, an exceptional opportunity of profiting by the experience of others. I am not suggesting that all the measures which have been found successful elsewhere can automatically be applied to Indian conditions, but I do believe that there is here a wide and fruitful field which has not yet been thoroughly explored.

During the last five or six years India has made considerable progress in labour legislation. Most of our important Acts, such as the Factories and Mines Acts, have been entirely remodelled, and others, such as the Trade Unions Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act, are new. But in the field of labour legislation great advances have been made in recent years in Western countries, and new ideas and new methods are being constantly canvassed and examined, so that we in India may still benefit from their experience, before we rest satisfied that our existing legislation is entirely adequate and suitable.

In our consideration of these important matters I have no doubt that we shall be able to count upon your assistance and that you will readily give us the benefit of your great experience.

As you, Sir, have said, the development of Indian commerce and industry is intimately connected with the national movement. The ideal of "making the Indian nation united, prosperous and progressive", is one with which every Britisher should sympathize, for such an ideal is the natural issue and fulfilment of everything that Great Britain has tried, and is trying, to do in India. But at times anxiety to reach this ideal tempts some to accept an

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

economic outlook which seems to be narrower than the facts of world experience suggest.

Legislative short-cuts are sometimes dangerous means to use in days of an increasing economic inter-action between all parts of the world, and may very easily do more harm than good to the cause they are meant to serve.

You have referred, Mr. President, to the inter-action of British and Indian commercial interests. It is, I think, almost a truism to say that Indian commerce and industry will only make good by a constructive effort in which British commercial interests, we may be sure, when fairly approached, will not be slow to co-operate. As you, Sir, have told us, such co-operation is even now not rare. Thanks indeed largely to the efforts of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas himself, in the great cotton industry Indian and British businessmen are already working harmoniously together for a common end on the Indian Central Cotton Committee, the East India Cotton Association and the Bombay Millowners' Association.

We find other recent instances of co-operation in the formation of an Indian Accountancy Board, the proposals for which have been worked out by an informal committee of prominent Indian and British accountants with the assistance of the Commerce Department, and also in the unanimous recommendations of the Indian Road Development Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jayakar, which included members of all parties in the Legislature, the European Group as well as the Congress Party, Nationalists, Independents and Muslims, and the Government. I sincerely welcome the President's hope that the time will come when Indian and British commerce and industry will work gladly together without distinction of race or creed. You have referred, Sir, to the Coastal Reservation Bill which was before the Assembly last session. The position of Government has been repeatedly made plain

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

on this matter, and in view of the fact that the Bill is now in Select Committee, though I thought it right to restate the broad position of Government in regard to it, I have not thought it proper to enter into detailed consideration of its provisions. I am more concerned, if I can, to induce British and Indian opinion to join in searching out a solution that might reconcile the conflicting points of view. There are, however, two things I would say on the subject. The future of the Indian mercantile marine depends primarily on the success of the *Dufferin*, and of the supplementary arrangements which the Government are now making to train Indians as marine engineers and as wireless operators. It was said by the maker of the greatest maritime power in ancient Greece that "it is men, not walls or ships that make a city." And in modern times the experience of countries that have tried to create a mercantile marine has shown that everything depends on personnel. I cannot bring myself to believe that an Indian mercantile marine can be or would be created merely by legislative action to transfer the profits of the coastal trade, which appears to give only a moderate return on the capital invested, from British to Indian shareholders. On the long view, it is the training of personnel that I believe to be fundamental to the whole matter. In this vital matter ungrudging assistance and support are being given by British interests. British shipowners are active members of the Governing Body of the *Dufferin*. British ships builders have willingly agreed to take Indians as apprentices in marine engineering in their yards. The Marcon Company is preparing a scheme for training Indians as wireless operators and watchers. It is essential for the future of the Indian mercantile marine that this sympathetic interest should be maintained.

In the second place, it is not infrequently said that there is precedent for this Bill in other parts of the Empire and that Australia in particular has reserved her coasts

Opening of the Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

trade in the manner that is now proposed for India. But anyone, who has read the relevant sections of the Australian Navigation Act, must be aware that they relate only to *personnel*, and that their object is to secure that Australian seamen employed in the coasting trade will receive as good wages as Australian workers employed on shore. So far is it from being true that the Australian coasting trade is reserved for Australian-owned ships, that the Australian United Steam Navigation Company, which is engaged in the Australian coasting trade, is actually financed exclusively by British capital and is controlled by a London Board of Directors.

There is, indeed, no precedent in the British Empire, nor, so far as I know, in any other country or Empire, for legislation which would reserve the coastal trade for any one class or race of citizens. India, in her relations with other parts of the Empire, has always stood for equal economic opportunity for all classes or races of His Majesty's subjects, and I can hardly believe that on examination any proposal which is inconsistent with this principle will be to the interest of, or secure the approval of, the people of India. I have already stated that the ambition to create an Indian Mercantile Marine is one with which I have every sympathy and which I have every desire to support. But I would venture to assert that co-operation and not discrimination is the best means of bringing it to fruition ; a drastic reversal of the principles on which the commerce of the world is based is not likely in the long run to be either a reasonable or an effective substitute for fair competition.

It is no doubt true as you have said, Mr. President, that the Government of India and Indian commercial interests do not always see eye to eye. I fancy that there are other spheres of the great and varied life of India of which the same thing could be said, and, indeed, if it were

Opening of King George's Dock, Calcutta.

otherwise, Government would be no Government, for it is impossible to please "all of the people all of the time". It has, therefore, been a great satisfaction to me to meet your representatives here and to learn from you, Sir, how you on your side see the various problems for which it must be our joint effort to find a satisfactory solution. The commerce and industry of a country are its very life blood, and their prosperity reacts quickly and surely on the welfare of every individual citizen. Any Government worthy of the name will realize that one of its first duties is to foster and strengthen the commercial life of a country by any means that lie within its power, and it cannot but be grateful for the advice and frank criticism of representative bodies, such as the Federated Chambers of Commerce.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me once again assure you of the pleasure I have felt in coming among you this morning and of the warm interest I take and shall continue to take in the welfare of your organization.

OPENING OF KING GEORGE'S DOCK, CALCUTTA.

In opening King George's Dock, Calcutta, on 29th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

29th Decem-
ber 1928.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I suppose that the thought uppermost in all our minds to-day is that His Majesty the King-Emperor, by whose name this dock has the honour to be called, is now slowly, but as we hope surely, recovering from the illness whose course we have so long followed with such deep anxiety. In giving his name to this great project His Majesty signalized the interest he took in the work which is to be opened to-day, and indeed we know well that any scheme, be it great or small, which is to the benefit of the people of his wide dominions, will always find a ready response in the heart of our King-Emperor. These last weeks have shown once more the depth

Opening of King George's Dock, Calcutta.

of loyalty and devotion which the people of India feel towards the person of the Crown, and all India prays earnestly that the New Year will not long have run its course before His Majesty is restored once more to health and vigour.

It is not for me to describe to you the technicalities of construction of this dock. You have literature in your hands which can tell you this better than any words of mine, and you have before your eyes the results—at least the results above ground and water—of the years of patient labour and calculation which are crowned by this morning's ceremony. You do not have to read far or to look far to realize the magnitude of the work involved and of the engineering difficulties overcome by the resource of the Port Engineering Staff. Mr. Ash, whose name will go down as the man chiefly responsible for the executive carrying out of this scheme, is one among the many distinguished experts whom I should like specially to congratulate on the success which has crowned his labours. I noticed too with pleasure in your descriptive note, Mr. Chairman, that 21 Indian Engineers had been employed on this project and have thus been able to get valuable experience of port engineering.

You omitted, Sir, in your speech to make any reference to the part played by the Port Commissioners themselves in this achievement, and I know that all here would wish me to pay a tribute to the foresight and courage which the Commissioners under your guidance have shown in making provision for the future development of the Port. Hardly had the scheme been started before the Great War came to dislocate large enterprises of this character, but the provision of the Commissioners has been well justified both by public confidence, as reflected in the low rate of interest at which it has been possible to raise loans to finance the work, and by the recent trade figures which have now passed the total of 1913-14 and appear to be steadily expanding.

Opening of King George's Dock, Calcutta.

I trust that this satisfactory position of affairs, combined with the sound financial policy you have pursued, will carry you successfully through the difficult early years of working this new dock. I look forward to the day when the full scheme of 30 berths has been completed, and King George's Dock has taken its place among the biggest harbour works in the world.

I should like too to take this opportunity of cordially recognizing the broad outlook which the Port Commissioners have shown in generously assisting and encouraging their smaller neighbours. Important harbour developments have taken place at Vizagapatam and Chittagong, but, so far from feeling any ill-will towards a possible competitor, the Commissioners have released Mr. Ash from his work on this dock before its completion in order to allow him to take charge as Engineer-in-Chief at Vizagapatam. Calcutta, however, in the long run is more likely to gain than lose by the stimulation of commerce through the development of new lines of communication and traffic. Four harbours on the long eastern coast-line of India can hardly be more than the trade of the country requires ; and excessive concentration of traffic in a single port is likely to lead to congestion and long railway journeys, which must handicap the trade of India in its constantly growing competition with other countries.

The completion of the King George's Dock, Gentlemen, will be a landmark in the long career of this great port. The river on whose banks we now stand, once the main channel of the Ganges water, has a wonderful history not only in the sacred cities by which, up and down, its course is marked, but in the whole development of commercial enterprise in India. Even as one watches the ceaseless to and fro of modern shipping on the Hooghly it is not difficult to picture to oneself an old East India Merchantman dropping down the tide on her way to western waters. Calcutta

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

has long since made its place among the great Ports of the world, and I am glad to think that the dock, which I now have the honour to declare formally open, will yet further add to its usefulness and dignity.

ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

28th January
1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly on the morning of the 28th January :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—When I appointed this date for the beginning of your session, my intention was to appoint the same date for the beginning of the session of the Council of State in order that I might be able to-day to address both Chambers. It was, however, pointed out to me that in the Delhi session, mainly owing to the fact that the Council of State has no part in the voting of supply, the burden of work which falls on the Members of the Council of State is considerably lighter than that which falls upon the Assembly, and that it would not therefore be convenient to summon the two Chambers to begin their labours simultaneously. I have therefore been constrained on this occasion to confine my address to Members of this Chamber.

For the past two months we have all laboured under the burden of a grave anxiety owing to the prolonged illness of the King-Emperor ; but by the mercy of Providence recent news shows that His Majesty's progress has been steadily maintained, and we may now reasonably hope that he is on the highway to complete recovery. The universal sympathy that has gone out to the Royal House, and particularly to Her Majesty the Queen, during these dark days, has shown in striking fashion how securely King George the Fifth, by devotion to duty and personal thought for all his people, has enthroned himself in their hearts. They will continue to pray that for many years he may be spared to rule over them and guide their destinies.

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

In the interval that has elapsed since your last session, India has lost two notable sons, the one a Member of my Council, and the other a prominent Member of this Assembly.

Though they differed in much, they resembled one another in the extent to which they were able to attract to themselves the affection of many outside the circle of their political associates. Of Mr. Das I can speak from the close personal knowledge that came from our work together, and which gave me ample opportunity of observing the high and selfless principles by which his life was guided. A firm friend and a wise counsellor, his death is to me a great personal loss.

Of Lala Lajpat Rai I can only speak from the standpoint of a far less intimate relationship. It fell to him to play a prominent part in the political life of his country, but there were qualities in him that led many, who dissented most sharply from his political opinions, to forget much of their dissent in a genuine appreciation of a very human personality.

Hon'ble Members will recollect that, after a conference of leaders in this House last September, a resolution was passed recommending the setting up of a separate establishment for dealing with the business of this Assembly. That resolution was of the nature of a compromise which, while not going so far as your President desired, went rather further than the proposals which my Government had already submitted to the Secretary of State. Having regard to the support which the resolution received from all quarters of the House, my Government decided to accept it with certain additions, which were imposed by the fact that this House had invited the Governor-General to take the new Department into his portfolio. It was understood that in so doing it was the general wish of the House, in conformity with the Standing Orders, that the administration of this Department by the Governor-General should

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

be deemed to be non-controversial. That being so, it appeared desirable that the Governor-General in the administration of the new Department should be clearly placed in a position where no controversy could arise. For this reason we have amplified the scheme of the resolution by providing for recourse to the Public Service Commission in all cases in which the exercise by the Governor-General of his powers as head of the Department might at any time bring him into conflict with the President or with the Assembly. The same protection has also, for equally good reasons, been conferred with his consent on the President.

The drafting of Statutory Rules to regulate the conditions of service in the new Department now set up will necessarily take time, but good progress has already been made in this task. Meanwhile the Secretary of State has given his consent to the introduction of the scheme on a temporary basis.

As Member-in-charge of the new Department I would ask the House to be indulgent while the Department is in its infancy, and not to expect it to attain its maximum degree of efficiency from the first days of its inauguration. There are indeed still some gaps in its complement, but, with a view to reducing these inconveniences, the Legislative Department has made a temporary loan of the services of some of its members while the President is looking for suitable recruits. The new Department, I hope, starts with the goodwill of all sections of the House, and though, as I have said, the conclusion reached does not represent all that the President, or perhaps some sections of the House, would have desired, I think we may nevertheless generally congratulate ourselves upon the outcome of our discussions.

In external affairs, everything has been dwarfed by the upheaval in Afghanistan. Of the drama that has unfolded itself during the last few months in Afghanistan

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

I shall say nothing save this, that the policy of Government is and has throughout been one of scrupulous non-intervention, and it is our earnest hope that there may be an early restoration of peace and order throughout the length and breadth of that country, and that India may again have on her north-western border a peaceful, strong and united country for her neighbour. During this critical time we in India could not but be proud of the gallant bearing of the British Legation, of the firm control of our tribes by the frontier administrations, and of the fine work accomplished by the Royal Air Force over the evacuation of women and children from Kabul.

In South Africa, our first Agent, Mr. Sastri, to-day relinquishes charge of his office and starts on his return voyage to India. By his services to his compatriots in South Africa and to the promotion of friendly relations between India and the Union, he has secured a high place for himself in the history of the two countries as a successful Ambassador of India and has laid India under a great debt of gratitude. He has left a high standard of statesmanship for his successor to maintain; but I am sure that Sir K. V. Reddi carries with him to his new duties the confidence and good wishes of this House, not less than those of the Government of India.

The House is aware that last year His Majesty's Government appointed a Commission to report on future policy in regard to Eastern Africa. The Report has just been published and will require mature consideration. My Government, however, is fully alive to the importance to Indian interests of the decisions which His Majesty's Government may eventually decide to take in this connection, and I am glad to be able to inform you that His Majesty's Government have agreed that, before any decision is taken, they will give the fullest consideration to the views of the Government of India on all matters affecting India. The Governor of Kenya moreover, for the purpose

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

of discussion on the Report, has with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies offered to appoint temporarily to the public service in Kenya, with a seat on the Executive Council, an officer of the Indian Civil Service who will be nominated by myself. In order to ascertain the judgment of enlightened public opinion on these matters I have asked the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habibullah to convene the Emigration Committee of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature at the earliest possible date this session, with the purpose of eliciting their views and practical suggestions. I do not doubt that my Government will derive great value from these discussions.

Since I last addressed the House, the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has been published, and, as Hon'ble Members know, a Conference of Provincial Representatives assembled in Simla last October to discuss the more important proposals contained in it. The deliberations of the Conference revealed a unanimous desire for progress, and, though time is doubtless required for action over so wide a field, the fact that public attention has been thus focussed upon this all-important branch of national activity will bring real encouragement to all who have the imagination to see what it means in the life of India.

The bulk of the work on the Commission's recommendations must, under the existing constitution, fall to the Provinces. But for some the responsibility rests primarily on the Government of India. Of these, the most important concerns the establishment of a central organisation for research purposes, and this proposal, after discussion with Provincial representatives, my Government have decided to adopt. The duties of the new Council of Agricultural Research will be to promote, guide and co-ordinate research throughout India ; to train research workers by means of scholarships ; and to collate and make available information on research, and on agricultural and veterinary matters

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

generally. As to the structure of this body we propose to modify in some respects the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Our proposal is that its chief component parts should be, *firstly*, a Governing Body—the principal executive organ of the Council—presided over by the Member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of Agriculture, and comprising 17 other members, of whom two will be chosen from the Legislative Assembly and one from the Council of State, and nine will be nominated by the Governments of the nine major Provinces ; and, *secondly*, an advisory council of 39 members, whose function will be to give expert advice to the Governing Body, and submit for its approval programmes of research enquiry. In addition to these two bodies, it is hoped that the major Provinces will establish committees to work in close co-operation with them.

As regards finance we propose to substitute, for a lump grant of Rs. 50 lakhs which the Commission favoured, a lump grant of Rs. 25 lakhs to be paid in instalments, supplemented by annual recurring grants of Rs. 7.25 lakhs. These sums will vest in the Governing Body who will consider all proposals for research, sanction expenditure, and allot funds to meet it.

It is my sincere hope that the organisation which I have outlined will receive whole-hearted support from this House and will before long start upon its labours which will surely be to the lasting benefit of India's agricultural millions.

The House will be glad to learn that a generous offer has been made by the four Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, to present to the Capital of India four stone pillars, on the model of the famous Asoka columns. My Government have gratefully accepted this gift, which will fittingly symbolise the common loyalty of the Empire to the Person and Throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

The past year has been marked by a series of labour troubles, which we have all witnessed with deep concern. The tale of loss and suffering involved by them need not be retold here, and we are more immediately concerned to devise means by which such profitless disputes may be avoided.

I have on more than one recent occasion appealed to labour to follow wiser counsels for the future, and to employers to prove their determination to leave their employés no justifiable ground for complaint. If both parties can combine to establish closer relations with each other and to develop the organisation for settlement of points of difference before they reach the stage of conflict, we may face the future with confidence, and Government is anxious to do everything in their power to encourage and assist such efforts. In the Trade Disputes Bill, which is now before the Legislature, we have provided for the establishment of Courts of Enquiry and Boards of Conciliation which may be called into play if disputes get beyond the stage of mutual arrangement. The proposals of Government in this connection, and in the other parts of the Bill which aim at the protection of the public in certain circumstances from the consequences of labour disputes, will shortly come before you and I trust that wisdom will guide your decisions in regard to them.

But these proposals will not in themselves reach the root of the matter. I have long felt that the best way to secure the advantage both of employers and employed is for Government to undertake a review of the conditions under which labour works, and to lend such help as it can in the removal of legitimate grievances. This question has for some time been under the earnest consideration of Government, and I am now able to say that His Majesty has approved the appointment of a Royal Commission during the course of the present year to undertake such an enquiry. Our intention is that the scope of the enquiry

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

should be wide and that it should, with due regard to the economic position of industry in this country, explore all aspects of the problem affecting the conditions under which industrial labourers work. The *personnel* of the Commission has not yet been settled, but we shall use every endeavour to ensure that it is representative. I am pleased however to be able to say that we have secured the services as Chairman of Mr. Whitley, lately Speaker of the House of Commons, who has been in intimate touch with labour problems in England, and is widely known for his association with the establishment of the Councils which bear his name.

The announcement which I have just made will, I am confident, be generally welcomed. The conclusions of such a Commission will be of the greatest interest not only to India but to the whole industrial world. We may hope that they will provide us with a basis for future legislation, materially affecting India's industrial future, and it is essential therefore that the enquiry should be as thorough and the *personnel* as strong as it is possible for us to make it.

But there is a yet more serious side of these industrial troubles on which I feel it my duty to touch. While every allowance must be made for the genuine grievances which the labouring classes feel, there can be no doubt that the unrest of the past year has been due in no small measure to the activities of certain persons, whose end is rather to promote anti-social purposes than to secure betterment of the workman's lot. The disquieting spread of the methods of communism has for some time been causing my Government anxiety. Not only have communist agents from abroad promoted a series of strikes in the industrial world, but the programme which they have openly set before themselves include undisguised attacks on the whole economic structure of society. All

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

classes alike are threatened by the spread of these doctrines, and no Government can afford to ignore this insidious danger. Last session my Government placed before you a measure aimed at the agents from outside India who have been engaged in this mischievous work, but by a narrow margin the measure was rejected. The anticipations on which my Government then acted have been justified. The object of spreading communist ideas has been steadily pursued, and communist methods have been regularly employed. We have watched in the great city of Bombay the industrial labouring population brought into a state of great unsettlement, excited, prone to violence and often deaf to reason, while in Calcutta we have seen a strike, which appears to have no clearly reasoned basis, indefinitely prolonged. These facts are only symptomatic of a more general movement, of which many here have direct experience, and accordingly my Government have decided to place before you once more the proposals for dealing with communist agents from abroad, which were under discussion last session, and further to include in the measure power to forfeit or control remittances of money from communist sources abroad, which are not without a very appreciable influence on the activities of the communists in this country and their ability to promote and prolong for their own ends these industrial troubles.

I must now address myself, Gentlemen, to some of the broader features of the political situation. I am not concerned to-day to discuss the question whether, as some Hon'ble Members think, His Majesty's Government were ill-advised in deciding to recommend to His Majesty the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission, or whether, as I think and have more than once said, those were ill-advised who have chosen to adopt a policy of boycott. Although those who followed this course have thus, as I believe, deprived themselves of an opportunity, of which

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

others have availed themselves, to influence the evolution of India's political future, each of these questions has now become a historical fact, which the historian will weigh with fuller knowledge and it may be with more impartial judgment than we can bring to bear upon them. But, whatever may be our attitude on these matters of acute and violent controversy, it would be both unwise and unfortunate to allow them to blur the glasses through which we must try to see the future.

We meet not long after the conclusion of many important meetings held at the close of last year, and this is not the occasion for me to attempt finally to appraise action taken and words used in the heat of controversy or under the stress of a critical occasion. It would seem evident however that what all people must desire is a solution reached by mutual agreement between Great Britain and India and that, in present circumstances, the friendly collaboration of Great Britain and India is a requisite and indispensable condition to obtain it. On the one side it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem, as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. And it is at this stage, while we can still have no means of knowing how these matters may emerge from the Parliamentary discussions, that it is proposed to destroy all hope of peaceful and orderly progress towards agreement, unless, by a fixed date in time, Parliament should have accorded its approval to a particular solution, the result no doubt of earnest effort to grapple with an exceedingly complex problem, and as such entitled to serious consideration, but one which important sections of opinion in India have not accepted, and which was reached through deliberations in which Parliament had no part or voice. Such procedure savours rather of intolerance and impatience than of the methods of responsible statesmanship, and

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

would reduce Parliament to being a mere registrar of the decisions of other persons. That position of course is one that in justice to its own obligations Parliament could never accept.

I cannot predict, any more than any Hon'ble Member here, when or in what form the report from those whom Parliament has charged with the duty of enquiry may be drawn, or whether further enquiry into specific subjects may thereafter be found necessary. In any case we may assume that His Majesty's Government will, as indeed has always been contemplated, desire to subject any proposals that it may then be disposed to make to full discussion with, and the criticism of, those persons whether official or unofficial who may be best qualified to contribute to the ultimate solution.

In a situation therefore that must call essentially for qualities of confidence on both sides, and for free exchange of opinion on terms honourable to all, I see very clearly that nothing but harm can flow from a threat that, unless a particular condition is fulfilled, which I believe to be mechanically impossible of fulfilment from the outset, an attempt will be made to plunge the country into all the possible chaos of civil disobedience. It is quite certain that no discussions of any kind can promise the least hope of success, when either party to them approaches the task in the spirit of hostility and suspicion from which such an ultimatum springs.

I recognise that although many leaders and schools of political opinion in India will refuse to walk along the dangerous paths of non-co-operation, many of them openly profess distrust of the attitude of Great Britain towards this country. They say, and would have others believe, that hitherto Great Britain has given no sufficient proof of her intention to fulfil the pledge that Mr. Montagu gave on behalf of His Majesty's Government

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

in 1917, and that Great Britain is seeking to forget or deny the high policy there enshrined.

In conditions more favourable to cool judgment, I suppose that most persons would admit that British India as we find it to-day is a British creation, and that it is the British power which has during the last century held together its constituent parts. If this centripetal influence is immediately or too suddenly withdrawn, is it wholly unreasonable to fear that some at any rate of the parts might fly asunder, and the dream of a strong united India, a nation among the nations of the world as we may speak of the British or American nation, would vanish and be destroyed? Anxious as I am to see the realisation of this dream, I can hardly hope that any words of mine may suffice to disperse the black cloud of unwarranted mistrust that has enshrouded so much of Indian political thought. But I tell this Assembly again, and through them India, that the declaration of 1917 stands, and will stand for all time, as the solemn pledge of the British people to do all that can be done by one people to assist another to attain full national political stature, and that the pledge so given will never be dishonoured. And, as actions are commonly held more powerful than words, I will add that I should not be standing before you here to-day as Governor-General, if I believed that the British people had withdrawn their hand from that solemn covenant.

Those, therefore, who preach that a new generation has arisen in England which seeks to explain away the significance of the 1917 declaration, are, consciously or unconsciously, but not the less really, misrepresenting the purpose of Great Britain, and poisoning the wells by which the common life of India and Great Britain is supported and sustained. If there are Indians who are thus tempted to mistrust Great Britain, there are no doubt many in Great Britain, resentful of what they well know to be an unfounded and ungenerous accusation, who may mistrust some of

Address to the Legislative Assembly.

those who speak for India. But if we are thus tempted in the 20th Century, I know that both India and Great Britain will be judged in the 21st by the degree to which they have refused to lose faith in one another. Gentlemen of the Assembly, though we may differ on all other issues, let us not readily or lightly impugn the good faith of one another, for that is to destroy the very foundation of all hope of better things.

I would add one or two observations of more personal kind. Whoever holds the position of Viceroy and Governor-General of India is bound through his Office and conscience by a double duty. He is under the plain obligation of seeing that the King's Government in India is carried on, with due respect for the law, and in this sphere he may at any time be confronted with issues that are more far-reaching than ordinary political controversy, and that are indeed fundamental to all society. Respect for law is an attribute of civilisation painfully and hardly won, and a society which lacks it carries within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Those therefore who can guide public opinion in this country are doing no service to India if they accustom her to think lightly of disobedience to constituted authority, whatever the title by which such disobedience may be described.

But in another and not less important capacity the Viceroy and Governor-General stands as intermediary between India and Great Britain, and as such will constantly endeavour to interpret as faithfully as he may the hopes, the feelings, the desires of the Indian people to those who may from time to time compose His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, and, if I may quote words which are used in connection with another office in the British Constitution, "to beg His Majesty's Government ever to place the most favourable construction upon all their proceedings".

Opening of the Delhi Flying Club.

That duty I have striven, and shall strive, to fulfil to the best of my ability ; and it is, Gentlemen, because the smooth adjustment of these different functions imposed on a single individual does not lie with me alone that I have tried to draw frankly the broad outlines of the present situation as I see them. I have desired so far as I could to employ no language which might needlessly offend the feelings of those who take a different view. For I long, as for nothing else, to see the political life of India move down orderly channels to its full term of natural development. And to achieve that end we all have our own work to do. On each one of us, in our several spheres, in this Assembly and outside, the time and the subject lay very heavy responsibilities, and it is my most earnest prayer, for you and for myself, that under God's guidance we may be permitted during the time that lies before us to help one another in their discharge.

OPENING OF THE DELHI FLYING CLUB.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the 28th January
Viceroy at the opening of the Delhi Flying Club on the after- 1929.
noon of the 28th January :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It was a great pleasure to me to be able to accept the invitation of the members of the Delhi Flying Club to perform this opening ceremony—a ceremony which within the life-time of many of us here may well become historic. For from these small beginnings great developments, which to-day it is difficult to foresee, must assuredly emerge.

The Light Aeroplane Club movement is still in its infancy, but it is a fast-growing child in all quarters of the world and it is interesting even now to recall its origin. The movement sprang out of the development of the two-seater light aeroplane, for which our present Air

Opening of the Delhi Flying Club.

Officer Commanding in India, Sir Geoffrey Salmond, in his days at the Air Ministry was largely responsible. As soon as this new type of machine had been evolved and established, the British Government decided to subsidise six Light Aeroplane Clubs to popularise and develop civil flying and there are now I believe more than 20 such Clubs in existence in Great Britain. Other parts of the Empire have not been slow to follow. Australia, Canada and South Africa each possess several Clubs, and the keenness and enthusiasm of the general public for this new form of employment and recreation show that the movement is advancing by leaps and bounds and that no limit can at present be seen to its extension.

In India a beginning is now being made, thanks largely to the enthusiasm of Sir Victor Sassoon who has given without stint of his time and money in assisting the formation of Flying Clubs. The movement too owes much to Colonel Shelmerdine who, since assuming the post of Director of Civil Aviation in April 1927, has worked out a scheme, approved by the Assembly last year, by which Clubs at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi are to be operated for two years with Government assistance. The scheme for a Delhi Club is now bearing fruit, and a special acknowledgment is due to Mr. R. E. Grant Govan and the authorities of the Roshanara Club for the keenness with which they have from the outset supported the idea.

In declaring the Club open, I confidently wish it a long life and a great future. In your late President—Mr. Stow—you had an enthusiastic supporter, and I feel sure that Sir John Thompson and all future Presidents will be only too ready to give you their valuable assistance.

There can be no doubt that such a Club as this has a really useful purpose to serve. The world is now beginning to think aeriaily, and the aeroplane is taking its

State Banquet at Alwar.

place among our domesticated machines. It used to be a distinct stage in a boy's education when he first learnt to ride a bicycle ; I think the day is probably not far off when our sons or our sons' sons will not consider they have properly come to man's estate till they can safely pilot their own aeroplane. It seems certain at any rate that the world is coming to accustom itself more and more to the idea of flying as an everyday occupation, and no race can afford to fall behind-hand in cultivating that air-sense which I presume must as in all other spheres be the necessary condition of complete confidence.

I heartily welcome, therefore, the formation of this Flying Club in Delhi. As you, Mr. President, have said, it is fitting that the Capital of India should take a leading part in this new venture, and thus add a new chapter to a very old book. The history of Delhi is written on the ground, in the stones of seven cities and in the newly-risen walls of an eighth. Its newest city of all is now to be founded in the clouds.

I call upon Lady Irwin now formally to name your first two aeroplanes.

STATE BANQUET AT ALWAR.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the 5th February
Viceroy at the State Banquet at Alwar on the 5th of February :— 1929.

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In rising to speak at a banquet in an Indian State given in honour of His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative, it is natural that following Your Highness, I should open with a reference to the subject which for many weeks now has lain closest to our hearts. For in no part of India is the affectionate loyalty and devotion of the Indian peoples to the person and throne of the King-Emperor more securely founded than in the Indian States, and the depth of these

State Banquet at Alwar.

sentiments has been increasingly evident through these weeks of anxiety as we watched the progress of His Majesty's illness. With profound relief we now see it taking a more favourable course and it is the prayer of all India, of all Princes and of all peoples that we shall before long witness a complete restoration to health.

I must thank Your Highness sincerely for the kind way in which you have welcomed me to your State, for the kind things you have said about me to-night and for all the hospitality you have shown to me and to fellow guests during our visit to Alwar. It was a matter of great regret to me that I was prevented by other public duties from accepting Your Highness' kind invitation to be present at your recent Jubilee celebrations and to have the privilege of witnessing ceremonies of unique interest, including that which marked so strikingly the position Your Highness holds in the field of Hindu philosophic thought. It is also a great disappointment to us that we could only spare two days for our visit, in spite of Your Highness' pressing invitation, but at this season of the year a Viceroy can rarely call his time his own and many influences conspire to defeat hopes that he may sometimes cherish of extended tours in pleasant places.

I shall not attempt an appreciation of all that has been achieved in the quarter of a century which has passed since Lord Curzon invested Your Highness with ruling powers, but the Survey published of Your Highness' administration contains some points which justify brief mention this evening. It shows that in the early years of your rule Your Highness realised that the most important duty of a ruler is to gain a first hand acquaintance with his State and the people over whose destinies he is called upon to preside. With energy and enthusiasm you set yourself to study the needs of your State and the economic condition of your people. To the solution of

State Banquet at Alwar.

those problems Your Highness brought the searchlight of a vigorous and original mind and that pride in an enthusiasm for the development of your State, without which nothing of lasting moment can be achieved. The results of Your Highness' administrative energy are now apparent. Your State possesses numerous important irrigation works which, as was wisely remarked in the report, constitute the best and safest investment for an agricultural State. Further a network of roads now connects the most distant parts of the State with the capital. Though I have spent but a very brief time in your State I can bear personal testimony to their excellence. Road connections are an educative and civilising influence and are daily becoming of increasing importance with the rapid development of motor traffic. I look forward to the day when Rajputana will be connected with northern and southern India by arterial communications in which Your Highness' roads will be not unimportant links. Another point which impressed me in the report to which I have alluded was the loyal and eminent services rendered by Your Highness in the course of the Great War. I need not enumerate them in detail but I noted with deep satisfaction that, in addition to providing a valuable body of troops, the recruiting record of the Alwar State excelled that of any State in Rajputana, if not indeed in India. I trust that the quality of Your Highness' troops will not be allowed in any way to fall below the standard which Alwar has set in the past. The administrative and social measure which the report enumerates will be equally remembered, and I shall watch with interest the development of the village panchayats, which, I understand, Your Highness has recently established in the interests of your subjects with a view to settling disputes without recourse to expensive and costly litigation. I listened with pleasure to Your Highness' appreciative remarks about the loyal assistance which your officials have always been ready to give to Your

State Banquet at Alwar.

Highness in your schemes for the improvement of the State. Your Highness' genius for organisation, I observe, has not neglected even the wild animals of your State, for the tigers which have been so skilfully brought up to us in your delightful jungles seem to me to have been singularly well trained to follow Your Highness' instructions.

Your Highness, my visit to your State, though necessarily short, has been of the greatest interest. My peculiar responsibility to the Indian States as representative of the Crown is ever present to my thoughts, and the Viceroy's responsibility in this regard cannot be fulfilled unless he can personally place himself in direct contact with Ruling Princes and of their States. I have been fortunate in already having had many opportunities of discussing questions of mutual interest with Your Highness, for Your Highness is so prominent a figure in the Councils of your Order that in the Nature of things I have been brought into close contact with you since assuming the office of Viceroy. In that time I have been able to estimate Your Highness' value as a strong supporter of the Narendra Mandal and a clear and subtle thinker on all the problems coming before it, and also to admire on many occasions the measured eloquence of which we have had an example to-night. The present is a time when clear thinking and a just appreciation of values and policies are more than ever likely to be useful both to the Princes and their people. The report of the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler may shortly be expected and will give, I hope, an answer to the various important questions which have from time to time been asked as to the legal position of the Indian States towards the Government of India and the Crown. We are all indebted to those who have given so much time and labour to the examination of these problems, which so urgently demanded a well-

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

devised and generally acceptable solution if the future course of events in India is to develop, as we pray it may, on lines of mutual confidence and co-operation. I feel sure that in these and all kindred matters we may rely on wise advice and assistance on the part of Your Highness.

In conclusion, allow me, Your Highness, on behalf of Her Excellency, myself and those whom you have so kindly invited to accompany me, to express our warmest thanks for the generous hospitality which you have extended to us. I have seen more within this short visit than I deemed possible, and I shall carry away with me the most happy recollections of the people and palaces of Alwar and of the most enjoyable time which we have spent.

My visit has strengthened my desire to echo the many and warm good wishes that Your Highness received a short time ago on your recent Jubilee, and, when we drink your health, as I now invite this company to do, it will be the hope of all your guests that these good wishes may win fulfilment.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Eighth Session 11th February
of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 11th February and 1929.
opened the Proceedings with the following Address :—

Your Highnesses,—It is with great pleasure that I welcome Your Highnesses to-day to the eighth meeting of the Chamber of Princes. Last year, the first session, when the new building came into use, was the occasion of some very interesting discussions and a considerable amount of useful business was transacted. I hope that the present session will be no less profitable. When I reflect upon the importance and complexity of the

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

questions which to-day face the States of India, I am impressed by the great potential value to your Order of being able in this way to take counsel together, and I trust and believe that the Narendra Mandal will constantly show itself worthy to point the path of wisdom to its constituent members.

Before proceeding to review the events and work of the past year, I would inform Your Highnesses of a telegram which, on behalf of Your Chamber, the Standing Committee at its first session last January requested me to send to England for communication to His Majesty. It was in the following words :—

“ The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, and those Princes whom it represents, express their deep concern over the continued illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor, their genuine sympathy with Her Majesty and other Members of the Royal Family in their anxiety, which is shared by Princes and their subjects, and their fervent prayers for His Majesty’s speedy recovery.”

Her Majesty the Queen-Empress sent the following reply :—

“ I wish to convey grateful thanks to the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes for their kind messages of concern and sympathy in regard to the continued illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and prayers offered for His Majesty’s speedy recovery.”

His Majesty’s dangerous and protracted illness has given cause throughout the Empire for the keenest and gravest anxiety for many weeks past, and the thoughts and sympathy of all have turned to Her Majesty and the Members of the Royal Family. By God’s mercy the most critical stage of the illness now seems to be passed, and, while convalescence must be slow, Your Highnesses will join with me in the hope and prayer that His Majesty may soon be restored to his full health and vigour.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Since the last session of the Chamber in February 1928 there have happily been but few changes among the Ruling Princes of India. We have, however, sustained by death the loss of His Highness the Raja of Pudukkottai. Succeeding to the *gadi* of his ancestors in 1886 His Late Highness was invested with powers eight years later. His health since 1922 had not been robust, and largely for this reason he resided in Europe where, as also in other parts of the world, he was a well-known and a popular figure. He attended the inaugural session of this Chamber in 1921 and his loss is one which has been felt acutely by his friends. I am sure that Your Highnesses will join with me in wishing all happiness and prosperity to the young Raja who in course of time will succeed to his responsibilities, and in hoping that when he comes of age he will take a genuine and continuing interest in the affairs of the Narendra Mandal.

Within the last few weeks another Member of the Chamber has passed away in the person of His Highness the Maharawat of Partabgarh. His Highness, a venerable personality in Rajputana, full of years and honour, had presided over the destinies of his State since 1890. Age and infirmities had prevented his attending the Chamber since its inauguration. Your Highnesses will join with me in condolence with his bereaved family and in the hope that his successor will live long to rule wisely over his State and take his due place in the Councils of his Order.

The outstanding event of the year, so far as the Princes of India are concerned, has been provided by the deliberations of the Indian States Committee. After spending last cold weather in India and touring extensively in several of the States, the Committee have continued their activities in England. A number of Your Highnesses have attended their sessions and expressed considered views on questions of import engaging Your Highnesses'

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

attention no less than that of His Majesty's Government. Though it is too early as yet to forecast the result of the Committee's enquiry, I have no doubt that it will prove a material contribution to the elucidation of the difficult problems with which it has been concerned. It is a great satisfaction to me that the appointment and *personnel* of the Committee should have met with Your Highnesses' warm approval, and that you should have taken so active an interest in their proceedings both in this country and in England. I understand that considerable material has been laid before the Committee, and whatever may be their conclusions they will at least not be based upon scanty or insufficient data. Examination of the report both here and in England will inevitably take time, and I am aware of the desire of Your Highnesses both that you may be consulted before any final action is taken upon it and that no undue delay should occur in reviewing the position in the light of what the Committee may have to say. I can assure Your Highnesses that in both these respects your desires will receive careful consideration and I realise fully that, if many weighty topics of interest to Your Highnesses have not come before the Chamber this year, it is because they are still in a sense *sub-judice* before that Committee. It is obvious that the ground must first be cleared before the lines of future action can profitably come under discussion.

At the last session of the Chamber I referred to the Special Committee appointed to enquire into the opium problem. The Committee have personally visited all the States concerned and have achieved a commendable degree of progress. Many of the Durbars most closely interested have expressed their readiness to co operate with the Government of India in effecting a solution of the difficult questions involved. The Committee's report is now under consideration and I hope that a conclusion will be reached which will prove beyond doubt that India is doing all

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

she can to fulfil her international obligations. When considering measures to this end the Government will always be anxious to secure that the minimum amount of dislocation and the minimum degree of financial loss shall be occasioned to the States concerned.

I mentioned also at our last meeting the enquiries that were being made regarding the development of the road system of this country. Here again I am glad to say that considerable progress has been effected, and I trust that it will soon be possible to extend to many of the States a share in the benefit of improved communications. I understand that at a recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes the Report of the Road Committee was shown to those Members of the Committee who desired to see it. As the Report has not yet been officially adopted, it would be premature for me to say much about it, but I may mention briefly the primary objects sought by the Road Committee's enquiries. The introduction of motor transport in large degree into this country has made it necessary that as high a standard as possible of through communications should be maintained. It is with this object that it is sought to apportion a share of the benefits to the States concerned. At the same time I have no doubt Your Highnesses will recognise the necessity of providing some guarantee to ensure that the roads in question are satisfactorily maintained. It may be that in some cases Durbars would prefer to make arrangements by which responsibility for maintenance of these routes might be transferred to Government. Where this is the case Government would be ready to consider any proposals the Durbars may put forward.

During the past year it has again been my privilege to visit various portions of what I may be permitted to term Indian India. These visits have been of particular value and interest to me as affording an opportunity of

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

meeting Princes who do not always find it convenient to visit Delhi. It is encouraging to observe that on the part of every foresighted Ruler there has been evinced a clear tendency to improve the administrative machinery and to place increased facilities of all kinds at the disposal of his people. Last year's session of this Chamber was memorable for the passing of a resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in which the duties of a Prince in relation to his people were brought prominently to notice. This was an action which afforded genuine pleasure to all who had the interest of Your Highnesses at heart, and it would be matter for very great regret if this resolution failed to meet the full response which it deserved. I would call to mind the remark made by His Highness the Chancellor that the outside world is apt to form its judgment of your Order with reference to the weakest rather than the strongest aspect which it presents. To those among Your Highnesses who are continually striving to effect improvement this tendency may appear to be unfair and unjustified, but I am afraid it is what must be expected from a censorious world. If there are still rulers who do not fully recognise their responsibilities, I would hope that more and more there may grow up, and express itself through this Chamber, a solid and progressive public opinion of Princes and Chiefs, which will be powerful enough to secure that the welfare and good repute of Your Highnesses' Order be not allowed to suffer in public estimation.

There is one matter in particular in which I would ask the Rulers of Indian States to be on their guard. Industrial advancement is now the order of the day and British India is endeavouring to come into line with the rest of the world in ameliorating the general conditions of labour. I am told that there is a distinct tendency on the part of certain capitalists to endeavour to evade the factory regulations of British India by establishing mills

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

or factories in the territories of Indian States, where the number of hours during which operatives may be employed is sometimes longer than in British India, and where the provision of suitable accommodation for factory hands is not made obligatory. The experience in Europe and in India on these two important aspects of industrialism is one from which warning might profitably be taken. To grant too ready a permission to labour employers to adopt unprogressive methods in the treatment of labour for their own benefit is a shortsighted policy which is bound to beget serious trouble. Most countries have realised, and generally too late, the difficulties involved by such a state of affairs, and the Indian States will indeed be fortunate, if they are willing, while industrial development within them is yet in its infancy, to benefit by the experience that has been so dearly bought elsewhere.

When I addressed Your Highnesses last year I referred to the important problem of the future of the Chiefs' Colleges. My Government hope shortly to be in possession of the views of the Governing Bodies of the Colleges and of the local authorities on the draft scheme prepared by the Government of India, when the question will be ready for comprehensive consideration. Your Highnesses will, no doubt, realise that some delay must inevitably take place before a decision can be announced, particularly as the replies received disclose a wide divergence of opinion.

As Your Highnesses are no doubt aware His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur represented India last year at the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. He will present to the Chamber a statement of his work there, and I will not therefore do more now than foreshadow the offer to His Highness of congratulations of the Chamber on the manner in which he performed the important rôle he was good enough to undertake. From what I have heard His Highness won golden

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

opinions from all with whom he came in contact and has, like his predecessors in this capacity, added lustre to the name of your Order before the world.

The Standing Committee of your Chamber has had but one meeting since its last session, when a number of important points were discussed and ventilated. Certain of the summaries which have received very careful examination from time to time are now ready for presentation to the Chamber.

One regarding the construction of Tramways in Indian States has been the subject of animated controversy in the Standing Committee between those who consider that in certain circumstances railways should be protected, by compensation, against competition by new tramways, and those who hold that tramways should never be required to compensate railways. The Summary, as now presented to Your Highnesses, represents a compromise by which—to state it briefly—the existing rules are to apply to all railways and tramways already constructed while the principle that in no circumstance will a tramway constructed wholly within one State pay compensation to a railway will govern the cases of all railways and tramways to be constructed hereafter.

Another matter that I would wish to mention relates to the employment of British subjects and aliens in the Indian States. The subject has been long under discussion, dating back almost to the earliest sessions of the Standing Committee, and a Summary approved by the Standing Committee was accepted by Your Highnesses in your session of February 1928. It has subsequently been modified in two points of substance. The first requires the approval of the India Office to the engagement in Europe of British subjects on less than a certain scale of pay ; since it has been found in practice that such persons, owing to their ignorance of India, are not always competent judges of their own interests. The second

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

point extends to Your Highnesses the right of employing pensioners from the British Indian Services, who are your own State subjects, without obtaining the prior consent of the Government of India, who should however be informed of your action in each case. These modifications have been discussed with the Standing Committee and have received their concurrence. I trust therefore that this question after a long and stormy voyage has reached the harbour of final settlement.

The question of giving publicity to the proceedings in this Chamber was referred by Your Highnesses to the Standing Committee three years ago and I see that it has now to be placed before you with a recommendation that it be adopted in future. This is a proposal of great and far-reaching importance and I look forward to hearing Your Highnesses' views upon it. I am assured that after the further consideration suggested to the Chamber by Lord Reading Your Highnesses will not reach a decision without realising and weighing the full implications of the new procedure.

Among other interesting Resolutions on your Agenda is a proposal made by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to fix the meetings of the Chamber and of the Standing Committee for certain definite dates each year. I have no doubt that to have fixed dates for these meetings would be of considerable advantage to us all. Difficulty has been experienced in the past by reason of the fact that the Members of this Chamber could never foretell definitely whether the dates to be fixed would not clash with other arrangements. The proposal therefore for fixed dates has much to recommend it, though, having regard to other regular engagements by which some of us are already bound, a good deal will necessarily turn on the actual dates selected.

Further interesting resolutions on the Agenda are two in the name of His Highness the Chancellor—one

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

relating to the election of a Pro-Chancellor, and the other designed to prevent voting for Members who do not desire to serve either as Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor or on the Standing Committee. I deprecate alterations in the Constitution and Rules of Business except when necessity has been clearly shown, but these are designed to obtain a truer expression than at present of Your Highnesses' wishes in selecting your representatives and as such may perhaps be welcomed. A further resolution from the same high source regarding the retention by the Chancellor of his office while absent from India on duties connected with the Chamber contemplates conditions which are likely in the future to be rare. I am content to leave it to Your Highnesses' suffrages, remarking only that obviously someone must continue to carry on the functions of Chancellor in India, and the division of duties between the two may present practical difficulties.

Another, in the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, desires the appointment of a Committee to re-examine after 12 years' experience the findings of the Committee appointed in 1916 to report on the best system of educating minor Princes. The debate in this Chamber last year on a resolution of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar on the cognate subject of the date of granting powers of administration was evidence of the keen interest taken by Your Highnesses in this most important subject, and I would be the last to object to its being considered and ventilated further. I would only suggest that 12 years is a short period in which to judge the success or failure of any system, especially when it cannot in the nature of things be universally and rigidly applied. To dig up the seeds to find out whether they are germinating is not a method recommended by the best horticulturists; and education is a subject where practical results are perhaps a better guide than *a priori* theories.

Unveiling of statue of Mahadji Maharaj at Gwalior.

I would like before concluding my address to express to Your Highnesses my appreciation of the work done by His Highness the Chancellor and by the Members and substitute Members of the Standing Committee during the past year, as also by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, who acted as Chancellor during the absence in Europe of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to attend the meetings of the Indian States Committee. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to allude to the smoothness with which the actions and deliberations of the Standing Committee have been conducted, and I am grateful for the advice and assistance which I have invariably been able to count upon from them, and also for the friendly and courteous manner with which negotiations have been carried on with my Secretariat. Your Highnesses will proceed in due course to elect a new Chancellor and Standing Committee for the coming year and before doing so you also will doubtless wish to express your appreciation of, and to acknowledge the devoted labours of, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and of the Members of the Standing Committee.

Let me assure Your Highnesses that I shall follow your deliberations with pleasure and interest, and I would only now record my earnest desire that they will enure to the benefit both of Your Highnesses' States and Order and of that greater India of which we all form part.

UNVEILING OF STATUE OF MAHADJI MAHARAJ AT
Gwalior.

6th March
1920.

In unveiling the statue of Alijah Bahadur Mahadji Scindia at Gwalior on the 6th March His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Maharaja Sahib, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I was asked by the Council of Administration to take advantage of my visit to unveil the statue of Alijah Bahadur Mahadji Scindia, I accepted the invitation

Unveiling of statue of Mahadji Maharaj at Gwalior.

with genuine pleasure, for it is a privilege to do honour to the memory of illustrious dead.

Indian history is full of heroic figures and in the stirring times of the latter half of the 18th century few names were better known, respected and feared than that of the warrior-statesman, who is now being commemorated in sight of the Palace of his successors. You have shown, Mr. President, the lustre that still dwells round the name of Patel Bua in Gwalior for his great qualities and high achievements. Wisdom and strength, loyalty and breadth of vision, were among those qualities, associated with a high conception of the sanctity of the spoken and written word. On such foundations he built the character that posterity reveres. For his achievements, you have the State of Gwalior as witness. A fugitive from the stricken field of Panipat, which must have seemed to many the death-knell of Maratha power, he rose a few years later to be the most powerful individual force of his day in India, and from the changes and chances of those troubled times he welded together under the house of Scindia the many diverse elements which go to make up the State of Gwalior. He rose to wear proud titles, to be virtual arbiter in Poona and Delhi, and to dictate to Peshwas and Emperors.

By the British nation Mahadji Scindia's memory will always be honoured, as that of a gallant soldier who triumphed over disaster, a stout-hearted foe and later a staunch ally, and a far-seeing statesman who founded a great state.

He left a tradition—in which Gwalior is fortunate—a tradition of loyalty and toleration, which has been maintained for many years by his successors, and which has contributed more than aught else to the honourable position which the House of Scindia now holds.

By the lamented and untimely death of his late Highness, the mantle has now fallen upon your shoulders,

Banquet at Kotah.

Maharaja Sahib, and I feel sure that in time they will prove broad and strong enough to bear the heavy responsibilities, which your father and his predecessors discharged so well. It is one of my great regrets that I had not myself the privilege of knowing His late Highness, but I have learnt from his many friends the affection and admiration he inspired in all who came in contact with him. I feel that I cannot let this day pass without a brief reference to one to whom Gwalior owes so much. In the administration of his State and in the counsels of his Order he showed untiring energy and resource. His thoughts were constantly for his people, and the progressive ideas on which he framed his policy during his rule were ever directed towards the amelioration of his subjects, and the well-being of his State. His loyalty to the Crown and the Empire found expression during a long administration and in particular during the Great War in services which will not soon be forgotten. Your Highness, as your father was before you, so may you live long to be remembered as the servant of your people, and a loyal ally of the King-Emperor.

I will now perform the pleasant duty of unveiling this statue. May it stand to remind Alijah Mahadji's successors of the principles he followed and the tradition he has left behind, and may they possess and value those qualities of intelligence, energy and courage, which all men have learnt to associate with those who bear Scindia's name.

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BANQUET AT KOTAH.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Banquet at Kotah on the 17th March :—

17th March
1929.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty this evening must be to express my deep regret for the great inconvenience caused to Your Highness by the

Banquet at Kotah.

sudden change in the date of my visit to Kotah. I need not assure Your Highness how reluctant I was to take a step which I knew must put Your Highness to considerable trouble and anxiety, but a Viceroy is not always master of his own time and the demands of public business are liable to dislocate his plans however carefully they may be made.

Your Highness however has not allowed this sudden alteration in the date to impair in any way the excellent arrangements made for our reception, and nothing could have exceeded the cordiality of the welcome which Your Highness and your people have accorded to Lady Irwin and myself on our first visit to Kotah. We have felt the keenest pleasure in visiting a State which traces its individual history back 300 years to the firman of the Emperor Jehangir, and for the last 40 years has been happy to find in Your Highness a ruler whose first thoughts have been always for his people and whose last thought is for himself. I have had the privilege of visiting many States in India and of observing the diverse features which they present. Wherever I have been, I have been impressed by the respect and friendship with which Rulers and people of the Indian States alike always receive the Viceroy as the King-Emperor's representative. But I think nowhere more than in Kotah State have I felt myself to be surrounded by a prevailing atmosphere of general kindness.

I do not think the reason is far to seek. The personality of a ruler imprints itself upon, and is reflected in, his subjects, and it seems to me that His Highness's kindly and sympathetic nature has struck a responsive chord in the hearts of his people. They know that he is ever ready to listen to their troubles, and to seek and find a remedy for them. He has known how to adopt

Banquet at Kotah.

modern ideas and modern science to their needs, while retaining a scrupulous regard for the maintenance of those old customs and traditions, which lend to Rajputs and Rajputana their peculiar charm and interest. If any proof were needed, it surely lay in the spontaneous outburst of popular affection and concern which showed itself when just two years ago Your Highness lay dangerously ill with pneumonia. I congratulate Your Highness on your complete recovery and on the rich harvest of affection and devotion on the part of your people which, as was then shown, Your Highness has reaped as the fruits of a wise and benevolent rule. It has been a great privilege therefore to renew our acquaintance with Your Highness among your own people, and in your own picturesque capital.

Outside your State, whether in the Chamber of Princes, where your wise advice is always at the service of your Order, or among the large circle of friends whose respect and affection Your Highness has won, the Maharao of Kotah's is a widely honoured name. But on the banks of the Chambal it stands for something even more. In my all too short visit I have had the opportunity of seeing many of the excellent public institutions which owe their inception to His Highness's administrative energy and care for the moral and material welfare of his people. Completed as funds became available, each of them marks a milestone on the road of progress which has been steadily continued during the long period of His Highness's rule. I was particularly interested in the Bhim Cadet Corps which I visited yesterday morning. This institution, at the outset in the nature of an experiment, has vindicated the sagacity of its creator, and I congratulate Your Highness most heartily on the success already achieved and on the

Banquet at Kotah.

good spirit and the keen interest in their work which the cadets display. I have also read, in the recent reports on Education in your State, the pre-eminence which Kotah has attained among the schools of Rajputana in vernacular and other examinations. The visit which I was happily able to pay to the Herbert College yesterday confirmed all that I had previously heard of the excellence of Your Highness's educational institutions. In this field, Your Highness has shown that you are fully alive to the vital part that Education has to play in modern life.

Another project which, as Your Highness has just told us, owed its inception and completion to your own enthusiasm is the new water supply completed a little more than a year ago. The boon of an abundant supply of pure water has now been added to the many benefactions which Your Highness has conferred on the people of Kotah, and I am sure I shall be acting in accordance with Your Highness's wishes when I congratulate Mr. Devon on the successful completion of this project. Mr. Devon is identified with many of the buildings in your State, and is fortunately possessed of the ability and industry to carry Your Highness's beneficent and altruistic ideas into execution.

I have learnt with deep regret of the widespread damage to the spring crop which was caused by the frost at the beginning of February not only in Kotah but throughout Rajputana and many other parts of India. In a calamity of this magnitude, where nature brings sudden devastation to her own handiwork, our hearts go out to the poor cultivator who sees all his rosy prospects blighted, and in one night fields turned black and ruined which a few hours before were green and full of promise. I feel sure that, in common with

Banquet at Kotah.

Your Highness, all Darbars in Rajputana which have been affected will do their utmost to afford prompt and generous relief to those who have so suffered.

Of Your Highness's loyalty to the Crown and the Empire there is little I can say that is not already known to all. I would take this opportunity to join Your Highness in echoing the heartfelt gratitude which all India and the Empire have felt in the steady progress which His Majesty is now making towards recovery from the illness, which has caused us such grave anxiety during these recent months. The services which Your Highness and Your Highness's State, in common with so many of your race and of your Order, rendered to the British Empire during the Great War are not likely to fade from our memories, and, at their recent meeting, the Chamber of Princes reaffirmed with no uncertain voice their unshakeable loyalty to the King-Emperor. It is, I doubt not, in conformity with the traditions of loyalty, which has ever distinguished your house, that Your Highness has decided to join the State Forces scheme, and I venture to congratulate Your Highness on that decision.

Finally it only remains for me to thank Your Highness most warmly for your generous hospitality during our visit to your State and for all the trouble you and your Staff have taken to make it so full of comfort and enjoyment. I thank you too for all the kind things you have said about Lady Irwin and myself to-night. The deep interest which any Viceroy must take in the Indian States is perhaps all the greater in my case for the hereditary associations you referred to this evening, and I highly appreciate the generous terms in which Your Highness has given expression to the recognition of this fact this evening. As Your Highness has said, large

Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi

questions are now upon the anvil, in British India and in Indian States. The Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler has formed its conclusions on the terms of reference submitted to them, both as regards the constitutional position of the States and in regard to any action they may consider desirable for the more satisfactory adjustment of financial and economic relations between the States and British India. Their report will receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration at all our hands, and I can assure Your Highness that, in the search for a fair solution to these and kindred problems, the Princes of India may count on the goodwill and friendship of the Government of India in no less measure than Government themselves know that they can rely on the loyal support of Your Highness's distinguished Order.

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION AT ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE,
DELHI.

19th March
1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, on the 19th March 1929 :—

Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I always think that an occasion of this kind is really very much in the nature of a family party, to which those who belong to the family are extremely kind to invite outsiders. And the outsiders that you do invite find themselves introduced into an atmosphere where past, present, and future all meet under the common shadow, as it were, and inspiration of a single loyalty to the same place ; and for the moment those outsiders who are fortunate enough to be so introduced find themselves transplanted into another society which is very attractive, and they

Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

therefore feel very much flattered by your kindness in inviting them here. That is certainly my feeling and, apart from the pleasure that it always gives me to give away prizes, because nobody I think when I was in school ever gave me one, if it in fact be true, from what appeared in the Principal's Report, that I should be the first Viceroy to attend a similar function at St. Stephen's College, I am the more fortunate. But Delhi is now, as it were, the Viceroy's home-town, and therefore it is perhaps permissible—not only permissible but right—for the Viceroy to be more closely interested in Delhi, and in the welfare of Delhi, than was perhaps possible when his headquarters were elsewhere.

I should like, before I say anything else, to add my word of congratulation to all those who have been responsible for producing the state of affairs disclosed in the Principal's Report. It seemed to me distinctly that, on the purely academic side—the educational side—as well as on the social side and on the athletic side—not forgetting the success of the M. As. in winning a cup for the first time!—(*laughter*), in all those directions the College was maintaining very worthily the traditions and fulfilling the purposes for which it had been founded, and on all that I congratulate it most warmly and, in congratulating it, I am sure that those congratulations are due very greatly to the Principal and the staff by which he is helped, who give of their best to the work that goes on here, and to the students, for it is obvious that no institution can be good or efficient without good students. And therefore the general achievement of staff and students in maintaining the College where it to-day stands is a matter for great happiness to all those who wish the College well.

Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

You, Sir, mentioned the Delhi University Report, and you said, very wisely, that you could not predict the final form in which the decisions of the Government of India would be cast ; nor can I (*laughter*)—and, if this were possible for me, I should be more discreet than to say anything here ! But I can say this, that I thoroughly well appreciate what you have said and what must be the feeling of everyone who is closely identified with a College such as this, namely, that, whatever may be the future, it would be a profound calamity if the individuality and the peculiar traditions of a place like this were to be lost or to be submerged and disappear. (*Cheers*). What all these things—traditions, character and individuality of a place—depend on are of course matters on which we can all form our own opinion ; but I am fortified in my conviction that it is not, and ought not to be, impossible to find the right adjustment between the claims of a strong and vigorous college life with the claims of a comprehensive strong University life too. By my own recollection (such as is the recollection of many here) of the relation that was held by the Colleges that we knew—at Oxford or at Cambridge—towards the life of the whole University, there was no question at any time of any weakening of the College life. But at the same time the whole College knew and felt that by making its own life strong—or, perhaps I may put it, with the object of making its own life strong—it would enable the College the better to make its contribution to the life of the whole University ; and that, I would hope, would be the line which anybody who deals with the University Report for Delhi would seek to follow. Because, after all, that kind of relationship, of the member to the body, is indubitably true of the whole relations of all our human life. I am not going to develop that, but I am going to suggest it to you, if

Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

you will, to think about it. And I suggest it in these terms : whatever the unit of life you think fit to take, whether you take the single individual, or the family, or the class, or the caste, or the community, or the village, or the town, whatever it be—trade-union, anything you like—the life of that unit will always be sterile, will always be circumscribed and fail in its full development and purpose, unless it is always reaching up to try and serve something bigger than itself ; and what is true of these units is just as true of nations and of races and of all big divisions of society into which the world ever falls. That, I am convinced, is true, and I would beg you—indeed I would beg you all, young and old and middle-aged—constantly to bury this philosophy at the root of your plan of life. And I suggest that it is that kind of thing that is the best consolation and guidance to you all when you are sometimes—as the youngest of you perhaps one day will be—very much disposed to be disappointed, and irritated, and annoyed at the difficulty you have in getting through as you would like with the great business of life.

Now I see human life more or less, I think, in terms of a great mosaic—a great jig-saw puzzle—set out on a huge floor on to which I am put in one corner and you are put in another corner, and somebody says to us all : now you get to work and get as much of that jig-saw puzzle straight in twenty or forty years or whatever your term of life may be. And you feel what a despairing matter it is, what differences of race and other differences there are that matter, and you have to muddle about with these infinite differences and occasionally to fit in another little bit, and hope that somebody else does not come along and undo it ; that is one way in which I think I see human life, much as, I think, the late Lord

Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Salisbury told some students of foreign policy that all geographies should be studied with large-scale maps. So I beg those who study human nature to study it also, if they will, on a big scale. Don't let our attention be too much distracted with tiresome small matters; let us look at the big features of human nature and in the right way.

Well, that perhaps seems rather remote from the Delhi College; but it is not really, because I believe those men from Cambridge who founded this place fifty years ago were really seeing big enough to appreciate what it was in the power of the East and West to do if they would help one another. And that is what I mean by trying to see the thing on a large scale. (*Cheers*).

One word more and I finish. I believe that, more than anything else, the secret of whether we shall achieve anything of what we desire to achieve in our respective spheres or not will depend upon whether or not we succeed in maintaining what I may call the right scale of values. May I give you a hint of what seems to me in one or two directions the right scale of values. I suppose all of us must put very high a real love of truth. In its effect upon our learning and upon the whole conduct of life, from truth, as I see it, springs disregard of criticism that one knows to be unfair: it passes him by, leaves him unmoved: it is from truth that courage springs, and the faculty of distinguishing—so vital in these days of democracy when public opinion is the ultimate court of appeal—what is counterfeit and what is true both in character and in opinion and in judgment. Therefore let us try and pursue truth. And next, a very wide and generous view of our fellow-men. From this

Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

of course springs understanding, toleration, patience, the character that refuses to admit disappointment. And next, self-respect—because if you lose your self-respect you lose everything. And clean living. Those are some of the things I think that go to make the character of a man ; and, however valuable educational and intellectual qualities may be, let us never make the mistake of supposing that they alone will win a man salvation. Character, combined with learning, that is the right test. If I had to choose between the two, let me frankly say that I should prefer character, but if we get both the more happy are we. (*Cheers*).

Well, Mr. Principal, anybody who is in a place like this and who emerges from it with those kind of qualities will not I think lack opportunity, or find it impossible, to employ those qualities ; and it was with profound satisfaction that I heard that some of your students under the leadership of Mr. Capron have set their hand to taking a direct interest in some of the social problems that are all round us in this city of Old Delhi. This they will not regret, and I am sure others who join them will never regret but also nail their banner to the same mast. And it is because I believe a place like this, with its background of religion, with its corporate life, with its common ideals, in which all communities are able to join and to share, has so much in it of power to send people out into this world for the service of this Delhi, of this India, that it is a greater privilege to me to have been able to come here to-day and have some small opportunity of testifying to the value of the work that I believe this College, with its staff, its students, its past, is to-day doing. I thank you. (*Loud applause*).

ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE AT DELHI.

12th April
1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed both Houses of the Indian Legislature on the morning of the 12th April as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I have exercised my privilege of requiring the attendance of the members of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature this morning for two purposes. The first is that I might have the opportunity of associating myself, by what is at once the most personal and the most formal means open to me, with what I know will have been their immediate and universal feeling of resentment at the outrage which four days ago was perpetrated in this building.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the actual events which took place before the eyes of many here. We must thank the merciful protection of an over-ruling Providence that the designs of wicked men should have been, as it seems, so unaccountably and miraculously frustrated, while to Sir Bomanji Dalal we tender our sincere sympathy, mingled as it may happily be with gratitude that he and others were spared even graver injury. With the acts committed the law can be left to deal, but there are certain general reflections that may perhaps rightly find expression at such a time as this. Throughout history, men have been tempted to seek the promotion of political purposes by resort to crime. Though they may result in the destruction of a few individual lives, such efforts are foredoomed to failure because there is a fundamental and instinctive reason, which leads ordinary men everywhere to revolt against such attempted terrorism. For they realise that society itself depends upon the quality of protection that it can guarantee to the humblest of its constituent members, and that, if this guarantee were to be lightly violated

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Delhi.

and trodden under foot, society would rapidly revert to the order of the jungle, where strength and stealth are the only abiding sources of security.

And if this be true of attempts to challenge the sanctity of individual life, of how much more grave import is not an attempt, such as that which is in all our minds, directed against a body which, with its sister Chamber, is not only a collection of individuals but stands in a collective capacity for something more significant and comprehensive than even the sum of all the interests represented in it? Here we come face to face with a naked conflict of two contradictory philosophies. This Assembly exists as an outward symbol of that supremacy of reason, argument and persuasion which man through the ages has been, and is still, concerned to establish over the elemental passions of his kind. The bomb stands as a cruel and hideous expression of the gospel of physical violence which, repudiating reason, would recoil from no atrocity in the achievement of its sinister designs. It is indeed partly because, through the corporate person of this Assembly, a direct threat has thus been levelled at the whole constitutional life of India, and everything which that life includes, that I have thought fit to summon the two Houses together here to-day.

On more than one occasion it has been the duty of Government to call public attention to the subversive and revolutionary schemes of which India is in certain quarters the professed objective. I have never concealed my view of the gravity of the danger which, if vigilance were for a moment relaxed, would menace Indian society, and I would urge Hon'ble Members to ponder long and seriously upon what lies behind the recent incident. Deeds of violence, such as that of which this Chamber has recently been the scene, can never be completely disentangled from the setting in which the idea behind

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Delhi.

them has been nurtured. In such matters some men have thought and spoken before other men resort to the extremity of action. And dangerous words, written or spoken by one man, are only too frequently the poisonous seed falling upon the soil of another man's perverted imagination. From such root in due course springs the impulse which drives human beings to ruthless and shameless crime, and invests it with the false halo of self-sacrifice. And so, to go no further back than the last few months, India is disgraced by the murder in Lahore of that young and most promising Police Officer, Mr. Saunders, and the gallant head constable, Chanan Singh, still more recently of a highly respected Indian Police Officer in Barisal, and lastly by the outrage here which many Hon'ble Members were compelled to witness.

I do not doubt that all right-thinking persons, with such an object-lesson fresh in their memory, will be of one mind and speak with one voice in reprobation of such conduct. But if there be reprobation, let it be unqualified. To condemn a crime in one breath, and in the next to seek excuse for it by laying blame on those against whom it is directed is no true condemnation.

Speaking here as head of the Government of India it behoves me to make it abundantly plain that my Government will not be deterred by any such futile and insensate acts from the discharge of its evident duty to take whatever measures may seem to it right and necessary for the protection of law-abiding citizens. In one respect, and it is vital, the task of Government and of the Legislature is the same. That task is to secure the conditions under which alone the things that make for India's welfare and happiness may grow. Apart from all other considerations such an event as that of last Monday cannot possibly accelerate, any more than it

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Delhi.

should be allowed to retard, the development of Indian institutions and the orderly pursuit of Indian aspirations, which the true friends of India desire.

It is not by resort to force or by belief in force that the future can be assured, and those who inspire and take part in such outrages are indeed the greatest enemies of India's progress. For let no man stand aside and delude himself with the belief that the State's security is not the affair of the individual citizen. Once the gospel of force is admitted as a suitable means for the attempted coercion of Government, there is no conflict of interest, religious, racial, or economic, which it may not be sought to resolve by appeal to the same tribunal.

The second reason for which I have required your attendance this morning was to acquaint Hon'ble Members with the decisions reached by my Government in view of the situation created by the ruling given yesterday by the President of the Legislative Assembly. The result of that ruling, which it is not my purpose here to discuss, is twofold. In the first place it propounds an interpretation of the rules, which I am satisfied is not in conformity with their original intention.

In the second place, the practical effect of the President's ruling as it stands is to debar Government from asking the Legislature to give it the additional powers of which it conceives itself to stand in need, and to make it impossible for either Chamber of the Legislature to record any decision upon Government's proposals, or to form its own judgment upon the question whether or not it could usefully conduct its debates on these proposals within the rules of order.

I desire to state clearly the position of myself and my Government on both these issues. Entertaining as it does no doubt as to the intention of the rules in question, my Government is none the less constrained to

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Delhi.

recognise that the only appropriate person to interpret within either House of the Legislature the rules under which it works is the President of the House himself. If therefore the interpretation of the rules by the President of either House gives rise as now to a situation in which Government for grave reasons is unable to acquiesce, the only effective remedy is that early measures should be taken to secure by due authority such amendment of the rules, as may be necessary to prevent any recurrence in future of a similar interruption in the normal legislative procedure. That course we propose to follow without delay, and, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, I will add that the broad purpose of the amendment in the rules which we propose to seek will be to secure that the progress of legislation, which it is within the power of the Indian Legislature to pass, shall not be prevented by the President of either House, except in virtue of express powers to do so conferred upon him by the Rules and Standing Orders.

Meanwhile, and pending the possibility of further action in the Legislature, the primary responsibility for protecting the foundations of the ordered State rests and must rest upon the Executive Government, of which I am head. Neither I nor my Government can neglect that responsibility even though the technical difficulty created by the ruling to which I have already referred has made it impossible to share it with the Legislature. We cannot ignore the fact that the men behind the revolutionary movements, against which the Bill is directed, will not stay their hands because the enactment by the Indian Legislature of preventive legislation is postponed. With this danger in view, and speaking with a full knowledge of much that can necessarily not now be publicly disclosed, I conceive that it has become imperative for Government to obtain the powers proposed in the Public Safety Bill without further delay.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

I have accordingly decided after careful review of all the facts to avail myself of the authority conferred upon the Governor-General under Section 72 of the Government of India Act, in order to issue an Ordinance giving to the Governor-General in Council the powers in question. The purpose of those powers as the Legislature is aware is preventive ; they will affect none who are content to employ their liberty in this country for legitimate ends by legitimate means, and the conditions under which they will be exercised have been the subject of very full and careful consideration.

I am fully conscious of the serious character of the personal decision which I have thought it right to take, but, though the responsibility in this particular matter rests upon the Governor-General alone, I have no fear that my action will not command the approval of that vast majority of India's people, who have faith in India's future, and whose first desire is to see their country prosperous, contented and secure.

CHELMSFORD CLUB DINNER.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at 20th June
the Chelmsford Club Dinner at Simla on the 20th June :— 1929.

Mr. President, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
My first duty must be warmly to thank the Club for having again invited Lady Irwin and myself to be your guests. The first time you did us a similar honour was when I had only recently come to India. That was nearly three years ago, and now I find myself your guest a second time more than half way through my period of office. The recollection of your kindness on that occasion is my excuse for taking advantage of it to-night to say something about a few of the matters which we have all had lately in our minds.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

At the outset let me congratulate the Club upon two appointments made from among its members to important posts of public service.

We are all glad to know, Mr. President, that those talents of ability, shrewdness, character and tact, which have carried you to the highest point of a distinguished official career, are not to be buried in a napkin when you cease to be a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, but are to find scope in the Chair of the Banking Enquiry Committee. Sir George Schuster could not have found anyone, not directly identified with any branch of business, who is better fitted to conduct an investigation into this complicated topic, and I count it very fortunate that he should further have succeeded in inducing a business-man of the calibre and technical knowledge of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas to be your principal colleague in this work. It is with deep regret that we have just learnt of the untimely death of Mr. B. F. Madon who had been willing to serve on the Committee and who would have brought to its aid specialist experience of no ordinary kind.

The Club may rightly also be proud of furnishing one of its members to be the first Indian to lead the League of Nations Delegation. I am personally very pleased that we should be sending a Delegation to Geneva under Indian Leadership. Sir Muhammad Habibullah, if he will allow me to say so, has already deserved well of his country both by the way in which, with the invaluable assistance of Mr. Sastri, he has handled delicate questions abroad in South and East Africa, and at home has steadily pressed forward to the establishment of an Agricultural Council of Research, which I hope will be formally inaugurated to-morrow to the lasting benefit of India's premier industry. In the discharge of these fresh responsibilities he will, I

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

do not doubt, bring new credit to himself and India. And for three months he will be in the pleasant position of a detached critic of the doings or misdoings of the Government of which he is a Member, and thus approach the wholesome state of being able to see himself and his colleagues as others see them. I can fancy that many of us might wish that we could ourselves occupy for a time a similarly detached position, since it must be admitted that for Viceroy, Members of Government, as for all public persons, the times are difficult, and we might all benefit by a quiet opportunity for introspection. In human affairs merit and reward seldom go hand-in-hand, for in the world's auction the successful salesman generally depends rather upon brass-throated advocacy of his wares than upon their intrinsic quality. The merits of Governments are no doubt unequal ; but, while the Government of India is certainly not the least meritorious of its kind, I suppose there is no Government in any country which, whether through modesty or by reason of the conditions under which it works, is less prone to vocal self-advertisement. And its virtues are therefore apt to go unrecognised.

There are none the less important features of policy, for which on any dispassionate consideration I think my Government are entitled to greater credit than we always receive. The policy of strict neutrality that we have adopted towards the development of affairs in Afghanistan has been recognised on all hands to be well conceived and to have been consistently pursued. It has naturally not been without great sympathy and concern that we have watched the unhappy progress of these events across our frontier, but the task of restoring equilibrium, union and peace is one which must be, and can be, accomplished only by Afghanistan herself. Meanwhile we in India must be content to wait and hope that before long we may see

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

a stable Government re-established throughout Afghanistan upon the consent of the whole Afghan people, with which we may resume our old relations of neighbourly friendship and mutual respect. Here, at any rate, is a sphere in which the policy of Government has been generally, I might perhaps say universally, approved.

In other directions we have been less fortunate. I not infrequently read of attacks made on Government at the present time for what is termed its reactionary, repressive and ruthless policy. Let us examine on what such charges rest. I take what I assume to be the three principal indictments in the count, the Public Safety Bill and Ordinance ; the Trade Disputes Act ; and certain arrests and prosecutions during the last few months.

The case for the Public Safety Bill and for the Ordinance which replaced it has been frequently stated, and I do not desire to traverse that ground again except to make two points plain. Some have said that, unless and until action is in fact taken under the Ordinance or under the Public Safety Bill, if and when it becomes law, it will be evident that the ordinary law will have proved sufficient to deal with the situation and that I and my Government shall stand convicted of having asked for panic powers. Such an argument rests upon a complete misconception of the facts. The principal importance that we attach to the Public Safety Ordinance is that of the deterrent effect which we anticipate that it will exercise. It has been more than once very frankly proclaimed by Communist sympathisers in England that it was their purpose to reinforce those who were preaching these doctrines here. The Public Safety Ordinance will be a clear danger signal to them that, if they do succeed in finding their way to India, they cannot count upon a free run of an indefinite period for the dissemination of their

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

mischievous creed, while Government under the ordinary law would be accumulating sufficient evidence for their prosecution. I know of no reason by which the Government of any ordered State should be held bound to sit still with folded hands and watch the security of the interests committed to its charge thus stealthily undermined. In no case will the Ordinance operate against any Indian ; nor will it touch any non-Indian who desires to pursue a lawful avocation or to lead the life of an honest citizen. It will operate only, whether as deterrent from entry into India or by expulsion, against those non-Indians who believe that the social evils of India or of any other country are to be cured by the destruction of the very foundations on which all society has been erected.

In other quarters the action of Government has been criticised for the order of procedure adopted in relation to the Public Safety Bill and the arrests of the men now undergoing trial. Why, it is said, could not Government have stayed its hand over the arrests until the Public Safety Bill was safely through ? It was no doubt open to us to act in the sense suggested by our critics. Such a course might no doubt have obviated some of the difficulties that have arisen. But I was satisfied in my own mind that had we so proceeded we should have laid ourselves open to a charge of treating the Assembly with lack of candour. What was the position ? We have all along maintained that the ordinary law offered only a partial remedy, in that one of the necessary conditions of its successful operation was a delay which in our view was dangerous. We had accordingly introduced the Public Safety Bill, of which the purpose had been generally assumed to be that of procuring the deportation of particular individuals. In the meantime, while the Bill was still awaiting discussion in the Assembly, we decided on the

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

evidence available to us to arrest and prosecute these persons among others under the ordinary law. If we had suppressed the very relevant fact of this decision in order to facilitate the passage of the Bill, would it not have been said, and not without justification, that we had been guilty of something like bad faith towards Members, by inviting the Legislature to take a decision upon what we knew, but what they would not have known, to be an incomplete statement of the facts? The matter seemed to me scarcely to admit of argument, and I therefore deliberately reached the conclusion with my colleagues that such a course would be wrong, and nothing that has occurred has given me cause to reconsider my opinion.

Support for the theory of a repressive and ruthless Government is further sought in the Trades Disputes Act, the passage of which will always be associated with the name and with the parliamentary gifts of Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. I own myself at a loss to understand how, with any regard for the meaning of words, this Act can be called in aid of the indictment it is sought to frame. The bulk of the Act is directed to the promotion of conciliation in Trade disputes and, as such, must surely command the sympathy of all who desire to see such questions resolved by pacific means. But, if organised bodies of labour and employers are to share the advantage of enlisting public opinion in favour of conciliation as they will do under this Act, it is not unreasonable that they should each be invited to recognise that in disputes affecting important public utility services the general public has a direct interest of which it is right to take account. The other clauses of the Act, prohibiting lightning strikes or lock-outs in specified services and penalising in certain circumstances the fomentation of general strikes or lock-outs of the nature to which I have referred, assert this third party interest. Where society is organised it is not possible

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

in these cases for Government merely to keep the ring and watch the battle waged, for during the process millions of innocent persons are necessarily exposed at least to grave dislocation of their ordinary life and at the worst to misery and acute privation. If a duty lies upon society to have regard to the welfare of its industrial population, it is not less incumbent upon those who win their livelihood from industry to pay consideration to the welfare of the whole community of which they are part. It has been contended that these provisions are designed to interfere with the just liberty of labour by imposing restrictions on the assumed right of the workman to strike, using that word in its broadest sense. But analogous legislation, imposing in some cases even greater restrictions on this right to strike, is in contemplation or actually finds place upon the statute books of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland and France. Are those countries, where, if anywhere, democracy understands liberty but also knows that liberty is not license, are they all the victims of ruthless and repressive Governments? I scarcely think indeed that the Government of India, if it had been unsympathetic to the real interests of labour, would have invited the appointment of a Royal Commission to explore so widely the labour situation. Such appointment is evidence of the importance that my Government attaches to these questions, and I am glad to see that its membership has been generally and rightly taken as a guarantee that they will be brought under thorough and sympathetic examination.

It is finally alleged that evidence of a repressive policy is to be found in the fact that Government has thought it necessary to prosecute certain individuals for offences against the State. On what does such an allegation rest? If Government is right, as all sane persons would admit, to prosecute men who resort to overt action in violation of the law, by what reasoning can it be judged wrong to

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

take steps against those who make speeches or enter into conspiracies to inspire other and perhaps less prudent men to such violation? The assertion of the law is the clear duty of any Government, and what my Government has done is to bring to trial in the ordinary courts of the land persons who in its judgment have committed offences against the State or against the public tranquility. Let no one deceive himself; the effect of a transgression of the law is more far-reaching than the actual breach committed, and any society that forgets that the reign of law is a condition of its own existence will soon find itself helplessly drifting towards the cataracts of anarchy.

Mr. President, I do not claim that the Government of India is perfect—few human institutions are—but I do claim that it enjoys no monopoly of human wickedness and that its opponents enjoy no monopoly of human wisdom. I find it hard to believe that those who attack Government on these lines are concerned so much to examine the merits or demerits of a particular policy, as to use any argument, good, bad or indifferent which may in the eyes of some bring discredit upon the Government. It has been said that it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose, and in India the temptation to allow prejudice rather than reason to be the motive power of opposition is perhaps greater than elsewhere by reason of the fact that here critics commonly regard themselves as exempt from any direct responsibility, and that the line drawn between Government and Opposition can be readily misrepresented as coterminous with the division between officials and non-officials, and with a further and more dangerous division based on racial difference.

It is not for me now to discuss in what direction we may be likely to witness modification of India's existing constitutional machinery, or what effect any such change

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

may produce upon the relations between Government and Opposition. I permit myself one general observation only. It has been publicly suggested that it might be possible to devise means by which the free growth of India's political institutions should be secured without the necessity of recurring enquiries such as that of which India has recently been the subject. Though I do not attempt to pronounce upon the feasibility of this suggestion, I cannot doubt that, if such means could in fact be found, it would be greatly for India's good. For after all the true philosophy should be that a constitution is something that grows as a living organism, drawing strength and character from the environment, science and practice of daily life. There is much truth in what was said by a modern biographer of Alexander Hamilton, than whom few persons had more to do with the creation of what we now call the United States, that the ideal constitution should be analogous not to the school boy's coat which the man outgrows, but to the bark of a tree which expands with the natural growth of years.

In this business of constitution-building—may I underline what I have said before ?—there is room for all to take their share, and, if it is to be wisely handled, it must be by the best brains of Britain and India mutually helping one another in the task. During the last 12 months we have seemed to watch the prospects of co-operation in the measure which all well-wishers of India would desire receding from view, under the pressure of resentment in some quarters at the choice which Parliament had made as to the instrument to conduct an enquiry on its behalf. I have never either underrated the strength of the opposition to Sir John Simon's Commission or impugned the motives of those who felt it their duty to pursue that line of conduct. But none the less I think that the opposition to the Statutory Commission has rested, to some degree

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

at all events, upon a misconception of their functions. It has been assumed by many that they were the Law-givers on the Mount, who would from that lofty eminence impart a new dispensation to India. Such a conception of the work of the Commission has never, so far as I know, found currency in England. Nor indeed, conscious as they must have been of the importance of the task placed upon their shoulders, has this ever been the view taken by the Commission of their own responsibilities ?

I would remind you of what Sir John Simon said in a speech during his tour in India. "No one", he said, "should regard the Statutory Commission or its colleagues as though we were settling and deciding the constitution of British India. Our task is very important, but it is not that. Our task is that of making a fair, honest sympathetic report to the Imperial Parliament. When we have made our report, then it would be India's opportunity to make her full contribution, which is right and necessary, to her future constitution, which would be framed by Great Britain and India together." That is I believe an exact statement of the Commission's responsibility which it is desirable to bear in mind.

Meanwhile, it is evident that two of the problems on which public attention more and more tends to fasten are those of minority communities and of the Indian States, and I would say a word in regard to each.

It was concerning the first, or rather concerning the unhappy consequences of communal discords, that I ventured to address the Club nearly three years ago. There will be general satisfaction that, with the deplorable exception of Bombay, the last three years have seen a steady diminution of communal rioting and outrage. I believe it is many years since the *Bakr-Id* festival passed

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

off with so little actual trouble and disturbance. But I am afraid we should delude ourselves were we to think that this improvement in the outward manifestation of communal feeling implied that communal feeling had ceased to be. It is much if the adherents of either side can recognise that their differences are rather subjects for argument and debate than of blind outbreaks of mob violence. But we know very well that, as a political question, the communal problem is still unsolved. As in the international problem of disarmament the first requisite of progress is to exorcise and allay the spirit of suspicion and fear that forbids mutual confidence and drives men to seek security in the strength of their own defences, so it is with the communal problem in India. Could the leaders of majority communities once convince minorities that their interests were in no danger at their hands, the backbone of the problem would have been broken. This the leaders of majority communities alone can achieve, and they would be the first to recognise that they have not yet succeeded in it. So long as this is so, it must remain the purpose of all patriotic men to bend their energies to the task of bringing into concord the different component parts of India's common life and, in the meantime, to avoid anything that may make that task more obstinate.

The other large problem of India's future is the Indian States, and here we have to deal with three strands of fact and policy. There is first of all the desire to wide statesmanship to see a canvas set on which a picture of All-India may ultimately be drawn. Then there are the Treaty Rights of the Princes, inherited from the East India Company, and hallowed and confirmed by successive declarations of the Crown ; and, lastly, there are the feelings of States subjects, of which all wise and liberal-minded Rulers will take account.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

I do not believe that this or any problem is beyond the power of wise men to solve, if only they approach it with cool heads and steady hands ; but, just as the knot of a boot lace becomes intractable if roughly and brusquely handled, so it is with such questions as are implicit in the position of the Indian States. The appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee was designed to elucidate facts and give to all concerned such material as they could, the better to see the problem whole. But I make no concealment of my view that, in any proposals that may be made, it is essential on every ground of policy and equity to carry the free assent of the Ruling Chiefs of India, and that any suggestion that Treaty Rights, which the Princes are accustomed and entitled to regard as sacrosanct, can be lightly set aside is only calculated to postpone the solution that we seek.

The British Elections have just been held, and His Majesty's Government has now been entrusted to other hands. But whatever the differences between British parties, I know that all desire to find a path wide enough for Great Britain and India to walk along together. I know too that, behind the noise and din of much political controversy in India, there is, even among many whose position compels them to be protagonists in political battles, a great volume of strong and sane opinion that desires nothing so much as to reach in partnership with Great Britain an honourable settlement of India's constitution. When I go to England I shall seek opportunity of discussion with His Majesty's Government on these grave matters. It will be my duty, as I have said elsewhere, to represent to His Majesty's Government the different stand-points of those who can speak for Indian political opinion. This I shall strive to do as faithfully as I may, in the spirit

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

and to the end outlined in what are for me the two governing pronouncements of British hope and purpose :— the familiar Declaration of 1917 and the Instrument of Instructions which every Governor-General receives from the King-Emperor when he assumes office, wherein His Majesty affirms that “ Above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions ”. I earnestly pray that, as the future unfolds itself, we may see the sure realisation of this hope.

It is good for all of us, who are involved in the pressure of day-to-day work, occasionally to stand back and try to correct our sometimes too narrow perspective by the light of vision and faith. So doing, I seem to see through the dust one thing standing out in unassailable relief. The work of those—whether Indian or British—who are concerned with India is that of an experiment unique in history. That experiment is nothing less than the building firm of a political fabric in which India may realise her destiny and where East and West alike may freely offer their peculiar gifts for the common service of mankind. The difficulties are immense ; the pursuit of such a quest must constantly place an almost intolerable strain upon the resolve even of those to whom it stands as perhaps the most impelling purpose to which human effort can be directed. Nevertheless, feeling as I do that upon the success of this endeavour issues more profound than either Indian or British depend, I believe that Providence which ultimately controls the affairs of men will not permit the great design to be frustrated.

INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COUNCIL.

21st June
1929.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the Inaugural Meeting of the Agricultural Research Council held at Simla on the 21st June :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have another opportunity of welcoming to Simla representatives of the Provinces and of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, and I think we may consider it of good omen that our proceedings should have been accompanied by rain, which is always welcome. I much regret that the Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture from Burma has, after all, been unable to be with us to-day, but I am very glad that that Province is not unrepresented, especially as it was not represented at the Conference convened by my Government in October 1928 to consider the steps to be taken to carry into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. To the other Hon'ble Ministers and representatives from Provinces, our gratitude is also due for coming so far at a season of the year when travelling must, I fear, be a source of no small discomfort.

We are now meeting, gentlemen, to inaugurate the Council of Agricultural Research which, as I had occasion to state to last year's Conference, was perhaps the most original and the most far-reaching of the suggestions contained in the Commission's Report. It is not necessary for me to-day to repeat what I said when opening the earlier Conference about the value of research in promoting the development of a country so predominantly agricultural as India. But I may be allowed once more to emphasise that research offers a fruitful field for co-operation between the Government of India and the Provinces and a sure means of stimulating and widening the agricultural development of this country. Thanks to the work which the Conference of Hon'ble Ministers of Agriculture and other Provincial

Inaugural Meeting of the Agricultural Research Council.

representatives accomplished in the Conference which assembled last autumn and to the constructive and sympathetic aid given by the leaders of parties in the Legislative Assembly, we have evolved for the Council an organisation which, while founded on the basic principles suggested by Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues, has been modified in certain ways which we felt made it more suited to the present-day requirements of India. These changes are fully explained in the Resolution constituting the Council, copies of which have, I understand, been communicated to all of you. They are designed to ensure for the Council the maximum of efficiency in operation by providing separate organisations for administration and for scientific scrutiny and advice ; the greatest measure of freedom from Governmental control compatible with the obligation of Government to see that public funds are properly spent ; close and cordial relationship with the Provinces ; and competent and representative membership. The presence of the Hon'ble Ministers of Agriculture on the Governing Body cannot fail to be a source of strength to that important organ of the Council. Indeed, no better means can be devised of linking the activities of the Council with those of the Provincial Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. Experience alone can show how far the Council will be able to achieve the results we hope for, but the attendance at this meeting is itself a gratifying proof of the determination on all sides to make it a success. May the career on which it starts be worthy of its beginning and fraught with ever-increasing prosperity to India's agricultural millions.

The only formal business before you to-day is the discussion of the draft Memorandum of Association and the Rules and Regulations which have to be filed with the nearest Registrar of Joint Stock Companies before your Council can begin its work. These have been drawn up in

Inaugural Meeting of the Agricultural Research Council.

accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission as modified by my Government and with the object of ensuring the establishment of an organisation to which the Government of India and the Provinces should stand in the same relation consistently with the fact that the Government of India, who are providing the whole of the requisite funds; have a responsibility to the tax-payer. The discussion of Rules and Regulations is, I fear, dull work, but you will realise how important it is that the foundations of the new organisation should be well and truly laid, and I have no doubt that you will carefully scrutinise the complete draft which has been placed before you and in the preparation of which we have had the expert aid of Sir Frank Noyce. You will notice that, subject to a very small limitation, your Council is being given an entirely free hand in the expenditure of that portion of the grants made by the Government of India which is to be devoted to the promotion of research including the dissemination of information. As regards that portion of the grants which is to be devoted to the cost of staff, establishment and general purposes, some of you may think that the control of Government threatens to be too detailed and too strict. I can assure you, however, that the arrangements proposed are intended only to enable my Government to fulfil their function of acting as guardians of the public interests in regard to the expenditure of Imperial revenues.

There is one point to which I am glad to have this opportunity of referring. I understand that some members of the Imperial and Provincial Departments of Agriculture see in the Report of the Royal Commission an imperfect appreciation of the achievements of these Departments. I do not myself think that this view is warranted by anything contained in the Royal Commission's Report. In stressing what could be accomplished by co-operation and co-

Inaugural Meeting of the Agricultural Research Council.

ordination, the Commission had no intention to belittle the great achievements of the all too small band of research workers in this country. Their enquiries brought home to them what must be evident to every careful observer, that, as science extends its boundaries, it is only by providing adequate opportunity for co-operation that full value can be given to the patient and persistent endeavour of the true scientific worker. It was to avoid waste of effort and to increase efficiency that the Commission proposed this new organisation.

The Royal Commission held, I think, rightly that the success of the Council of Agricultural Research would depend to a degree which could hardly be exaggerated on the personality of its Chairman, who under the scheme as modified by my Government will be the Vice-Chairman of the Council. I am glad to be able to announce to you that we have secured for this important post Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya. Sir Vijayaraghavacharya's varied experience as administrator and powers of organisation of which he gave proof as India's Exhibition Commissioner at Wembley, are a guarantee that his services to the Council will be valuable. From the Government of Bihar and Orissa we hope to secure the services of their Director of Agriculture, Mr. B. C. Burt, for appointment as your whole-time expert adviser in Agriculture. Mr. Burt's work as Secretary of the Indian Central Cotton Committee is well known to many of you and I have no doubt that he will bring to his new duties the energy and enthusiasm which contributed so materially to the successful working of that Committee from its inception. The recommendations made by the Royal Commission in their Chapter on Animal Husbandry have, I understand, not met with so general a measure of acceptance as those in other parts of their Report. In view of their controversial character, we have thought it advisable to obtain from out-

Inaugural Meeting of the Agricultural Research Council.

side India an expert adviser in animal husbandry and veterinary matters who will approach the problems discussed in that Chapter with an open mind.

Before leaving you to your labours, gentlemen, there is one item in your agenda on which I should like to make a brief comment. I have dwelt on the opportunities which this new organisation affords of enabling the Government of India to assist the Provinces and Province to assist Province. But there is wider scope to-day for mutual assistance and advantage in the sphere of scientific research. In drawing up the scheme, of which our meeting is the outcome, the Royal Commission found in the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research which has recently been established in Australia a most helpful model. I notice in the second annual report of the Council a statement of the great value attached by it to team work throughout the Empire in exploring and investigating the various problems which confront the agricultural research worker. They point out that the free interchange of information between the component organisations of that team will ensure the minimum of over-lapping and will lead to the most efficient and effective work. I am confident that in its response to the call for collaboration in scientific endeavour India will not lag behind Australia. The most important item of informal business which will be placed before you is the question of participation in the new Imperial Agricultural Bureaux. These Bureaux are being established as the result of the Imperial Agricultural Research Conference of 1927 in the deliberations of which representatives of India took a by no means inconspicuous part. I have every hope that you will decide to share in an enterprise in which India can participate with material benefit to herself and with advantage to the growth of science.

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

Before I conclude, I should like to make an announcement which, I am sure, the Council of Agricultural Research will receive with keen gratification and gratitude. I was informed yesterday that His Exalted Highness the Nizam has sanctioned a grant of two lakhs to the funds of the Council. The Council is empowered to receive contributions in furtherance of its objects, not only from the Government of India but from other sources, and I am confident that the prompt and munificent offer of His Exalted Highness will be dealt with by the Governing Body in a manner befitting the generosity of the donation. For my part, I wish to profit by this opportunity to express my warm personal appreciation of a gift which, besides constituting a substantial addition to the resources of the Council, will, I hope, provide a splendid stimulus to the generosity of others interested in the progress of Indian agriculture.

And now, gentlemen, I must not keep you longer from your serious task. The Council has a great opportunity to improve India's staple industry. It is my earnest prayer that its achievement may equal its opportunity.

COMBINED ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
INDIAN COUNCIL OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY.

H. E. the Viceroy presided over the Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, held at Simla on the 24th June, and addressed the gathering as follows :—

24th June
1929.

Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is always a pleasure to me to preside at this annual meeting, for it gives me an opportunity for appreciating the interest taken

*Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the
St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross
Society.*

by a wide and varied section of the public in the work of our two bodies, and of expressing my own inadequate thanks to all those who in different parts of India are devoting no small part of their leisure hours to the task of alleviating sickness and the relief of human suffering. It is appropriate that your two Chairmen have chosen this occasion to make reference to the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor. The courage with which His Majesty has struggled successfully against a long and serious illness has indeed been an example and an inspiration, and we earnestly hope that a complete restoration to the fulness of health and vigour is at hand. Sir B. N. Mitra has offered the assistance of the machinery of the Red Cross Society in administering the Fund which I am now raising to commemorate His Majesty's recovery. I am very grateful for the offer and shall lay it before those whom I shall in due course consult as regards the allocation of the Fund for their careful consideration.

You will desire that at the outset I should thank His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Sir B. N. Mitra, and Major-General Sir Henry Symons for the speeches they have made this afternoon. I observe that once again His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Sir B. N. Mitra have succeeded in selecting the most interesting parts of two very interesting Reports—which I have already had the opportunity of reading—and I feel they have had the advantage of me in having, as it were, the first bite at them. But there are a few points to which I should like to call attention. We may all congratulate ourselves on the recognition which, as Sir B. N. Mitra mentioned, has been accorded to the Indian Red Cross Society as an independent National Society by the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva, and I trust that there will be no quarters

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

which will look with jealousy on this early achievement of Dominion Status by the Society. Our obligation is now all the greater to see that the Indian Red Cross Society establishes its place by merit of numbers and achievement among the societies of other nations. It is in the power of all to co-operate towards this end, by voluntary help or by subscriptions, or, as I should prefer it, by both, and I appeal once more to Indians, of whatever standing or whatever creed, to join in this movement which has for many years been one of the true benefactors of the human race.

I had occasion a year ago to refer to the opportunities afforded by national calamities, such as floods or pestilence, for the organisation of relief by the Red Cross and it was therefore with particular interest that I followed the activities of the Society in the serious Punjab Floods of last year. It was fitting that in a Province, which, thanks to many devoted workers, has become the stronghold of Red Cross forces in India, the Society should for the first time have girded its loins to assist in coping with a calamity on a large scale, and I am glad to know that the Provincial Government was able cordially to commend the Society's efforts. This is an illustration of the possibilities of co-operation among the organisations working in the cause of health and public welfare, whether it be between Government Health Departments and private organisations, or between the many voluntary agencies which exist in India to-day. In no sphere of life indeed can truly economic use be made of our resources without friendly co-operation, mutual confidence, and free interchange of knowledge and experience. I believe that in matters of public health this maxim applies as truly as in all others, and I feel sure that any assistance which it is in the power of the Red Cross Society to give to sister organisations will always be

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

freely placed at their disposal. Sir B. N. Mitra mentioned the Punjab just now as leading the Provinces of India in Red Cross work, and the Punjab's achievement amply justified him in calling your attention to the record given in the Annual Report of the rapid growth of District Branches in that Province and especially to the fine work done by Mrs. Cuthbert King in Gujerat District.

Sir B. N. Mitra also referred in his speech to the Child Welfare work done by the Red Cross in different Provinces, and particularly to the results achieved in the Central Provinces and Berar. We shall all agree with him in singling out Mrs. Tarr for special commendation for her valuable work in training midwives and extending the scope of Child Welfare Centres, and I have no doubt that great credit is also due to Lady Butler, who has never spared herself in her endeavours to improve the condition of women and children in those Provinces. Practice is better than precept, and work such as this if persevered in cannot fail to achieve by force of example its ultimate object of raising the level of public opinion and public knowledge on these matters and of teaching people to follow approved methods of hygiene, not because they are told, but because they have learnt by experience and believe, that they are right. Few of us are convinced of anything in this world so easily as by our own personal experience, and by visible proofs of what others tell us. If, as a result of the work these Societies do, mothers see that their babies live when they might have died, if parents see their children growing up into strong and healthy boys and girls, it will not be long before they realise the value of the principles we teach, or pass on the discovery they have made to others. It is difficult, I think, to stress too strongly the need for an extension of this and

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

similar types of endeavour in districts and villages all over India. As a result of the Royal Agricultural Commission's Report, the Government of India have, as you know, just instituted a Council of Agricultural Research, which may be expected in the fulness of time to bring great benefit to India's country side. But, as the Commission also pointed out, hand in hand with such technical work must go an awakening of a public health conscience if the lot of the villager is to be permanently improved. For no satisfactory or lasting solution of problems such as this can be based upon anything but a sound and broad public opinion. Could we but visualise the time when every village of considerable size has a health centre of its own, radiating its example and its teaching to the country round, we should be not far from a state of real prosperity throughout India. For good health, apart from all else, is good business. I was interested recently to read a pamphlet issued by a well-known New York Life Assurance Company which in 1909 started general welfare work amongst their policy-holders. Since then they have spent over 31 million dollars in health literature and nursing in the areas where their business chiefly lies. They claim that, when compared with statistics for the general population, the figures for their policy-holders show a total saving of over a quarter million of lives on the expected mortality and a saving in death claims of more than 64 million dollars. This is proof of the value attached to health propaganda in what is not one of the least go-ahead countries of the world. I might mention here the interest with which I have watched the efforts of the Railway Board to disseminate public health propaganda by means of their demonstration trains. One of these trains on the North-Western Railway started on its tour on the 10th October 1928 and finished on the 18th April 1929 ; it visited 83

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

stations, and over 500,000 people visited the train. More than a million and a half people moreover came to see the films dealing with health matters exhibited in railway cinema cars. There is a clear indication here of the power for good which such means of propaganda possess, and I wish the Railway Board all success in their endeavour.

When we turn to the Report of the St. John Ambulance Association, it is satisfactory to see that a larger number of persons have attended courses of instruction in First Aid, Home Nursing and hygiene during the past year than at any time since the Great War, and, if there has been a slight falling off in the number of certificates granted, this is no doubt due more to the sternness of the examiners than to shortcomings of the candidates. There can be no doubt that the substantial addition which is made every year to the knowledge of Ambulance work in the Army, the Railways and the Police, in schools, and mines, and prisons, means a steady increase in the sum total of the nation's capacity to meet efficiently the calls which may at a moment's notice be made upon any one of us to help injured or suffering humanity. The main function of the Association is educative, and it cannot always be possible for those invaluable helpers—professional men and others—who assist us by lecturing and examining in an honorary capacity to see the practical results of their work. I particularly welcome therefore the innovation made in the proceedings of this meeting by the statement which Major-General Sir Henry Symons has given us of the working of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. For the activities of the Brigade are the organised translation into practice of the instruction provided by a large band of workers all over India, and I feel sure that the story of its work which the Acting Chief Commissioner has just given us will give pleasure to many and will stimulate other qualified persons to lend their active assistance to this

Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

branch of the Association. We all regret that this will be the last occasion of its kind when Sir Henry Symons will be with us, and the Association in India will be the poorer by his retirement.

Since our last meeting the Order has sustained a loss from among its ranks which should not pass without reference at this meeting. Colonel A. C. Yate, who died recently, was a Knight of Justice of the Order, and it was very largely by his efforts that the St. John Ambulance Association was established and organised on a permanent basis in India at the beginning of this century.

It is very satisfactory, as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has said, to be able to acknowledge the generous response received from the Central Indian Chiefs to his appeal for funds made last year. The interest which many Indian States show in the Association's work is no new story, and it was a source of great pleasure to the India Council to be invited to hold their All-India competitions in a State whose late ruler—Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Scindia—was so prominent a figure in the Association. You will read an interesting account of the competitions in the Report, and I need not say more on this occasion than that we are sincerely grateful to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior and to the Dowager Maharani for the invitation they so kindly extended and for the assistance they gave to make the competitions a success.

I have to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion for the good attendance at this meeting, which has meant for some of you, I fear, a journey of no small trouble and discomfort. I trust that you will leave it satisfied that another good year's work has been accomplished, and determined to relax no efforts in extending the membership and the activities of the two organisations which we have the honour to represent.

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